





IOWA BIOGRAPHICAL SERIES
EDITED BY BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

HENRY DODGE





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BY

LOUIS PELZER

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

As Governor of the original Territory of Wisconsin, Henry Dodge may with propriety be included in the list of Iowa executives since the original Territory of Wisconsin embraced the country that was subsequently erected into the Territory of Iowa. That the Iowa country was not merely an outlying district of the original Territory of Wisconsin is evidenced by the fact that the greater portion of the population was west of the Mississippi and that after the first session of the Legislative Assembly (which was held at Belmont) Burlington was the seat of government.

Henry Dodge was a typical frontier leader, and as such his biography becomes a valuable contribution to the history of the West.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

INTERWOVEN with the history of the West, the public career of Henry Dodge spans nearly fifty years of military and official life. Rising to the rank of Colonel and from Deputy Sheriff to United States Senator, Henry Dodge lived under the successive jurisdictions of Spain, France, and the United States; while his military and official careers extended over nine of the present States of the Mississippi Valley.

This span of years witnesses vast strides in the development of the West and in the fostering of the democratic spirit. Fifteen States are added to the Union, population quintuples, and the area of the public domain is nearly doubled. Bottomed upon the principles of Jacksonian Democracy, Henry Dodge saw the rising tides of popular government in the forepart of the last century. He bore a part in the enactment of the Compromises of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; and he was the colleague of such men as Benton, Calhoun, Cass, Clay, Douglas,

and Webster. His legislative record reflects much of the history of the Middle West in the two houses of Congress.

"The names of the Indian fighters, the treaty-makers, the wilderness wanderers, who took the lead in winning and exploring the West, are memorable."* This truly characterizes the record of Colonel Dodge's military career, which winds through two States of the Old Northwest and through six of the States of the Louisiana Purchase. These activities conduced to a fruition of peace, settlement, and the evolution of Territories into Commonwealths.

Henry Dodge saw the domain over which he was appointed Governor in 1836 grow to the magnitude of an empire in population, wealth, and moral resources. This region, embracing within its limits the present States of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota and portions of the Dakotas, furnished nearly 200,000 soldiers to help suppress the War between the States.

As a Territorial executive and administrator the name of Governor Dodge will be forever linked with the political evolution

*Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* (Putnam Edition) Vol. IV, p. v.

of the Commonwealths of Iowa and Wisconsin to which he bears the same relation which such Governors as St. Clair, Harrison, and Cass bore to the Old Northwest. These Territories became dowered with nearly fifty years of the political accretions of the Old Northwest, and through the administrations of Governor Dodge partook for several years of the streams of statutes, administrative policies, precedents, and judicial interpretations which had their fountain in the Ordinance of 1787.

This book of biography was begun while the writer was holding the position of Research Assistant in The State Historical Society of Iowa. The sources from which the material was obtained are indicated in the *Notes and References* at the close of the text. In all quotations the original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained. Chapter I of this volume is a slight recasting of Chapter I of the writer's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*, while considerable portions of Chapter II of that volume have been literally incorporated into the present work.

In the preparation of this biography the articles on Henry Dodge in the *Iowa His-*

torical Record by the late Dr. William Salter have been found invaluable. It is, moreover, a pleasure to recall the profitable interviews with this Iowa historian at his home in Burlington. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa and Editor of the *Iowa Biographical Series*, suggested the writing of this book. To him the author is indebted for constant interest and encouragement. Through his labors from the manuscript to the final proof he has contributed the best words of advice, suggestion, and decision. The credit of preparing the index is due to Miss Ethyl E. Martin, Clerk to the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

LOUIS PELZER

MONTANA STATE NORMAL COLLEGE
DILLON MONTANA

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I

ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE ¹

LYING due south of the main shore of Rhode Island is an island irregular in shape, about eight miles long and three miles in width, commanding in every direction a view of the Atlantic. Adrian Block, a Dutch skipper, had touched this bit of land in 1614 and had modestly named it "Block Eylandt."² For nearly fifty years its Indian inhabitants lived undisturbed by any permanent settlements of the white man; but in 1661 a shallop from Taunton, Massachusetts, landed its cargo of fifteen passengers — the first settlers of Block Island. Among the list was one Trustarum (or Tristram) Dodge, the ancestral founder of the Dodge family in America.³

For over two centuries this family line grew and prospered — nurturing and developing the instinct of migration which had led the founder to Block Island. The westward trail of their migrations winds through

many States and is marked by Indian wars and the exploits and hardships of frontier settlements. In the far West the record gains new strength in the Black Hawk War and in the negotiation of Indian treaties. Under the legislative and administrative force of this family vast territorial empires of the West were transformed into Territories and Commonwealths with security, wealth and population. Still further, the descendants of this family contribute to the diplomatic history of the Nation. In short, the achievements of the Dodge family are another expression of that dominating force and virility of character which won the West.

Israel Dodge, one of the four sons of Trustarum Dodge migrated to New London, Connecticut, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and on October 1, 1720, sold his land on Block Island to his brothers. Of the five sons of Israel, John was born in 1689. He removed to Colchester and then to Canterbury, Connecticut, and died at the ripe age of eighty-seven or eighty-eight years.⁴

Eleven children, the third of whom was born on March 10, 1723, and also named

John, were born to John Dodge.⁵ John Dodge, Jr., became a blacksmith by trade; and the farm implements which he made are said to have been of superior quality. For many years he lived at Canterbury, Connecticut, where the family were regular attendants of the Baptist Church. He was thrice married; and it is said that in his correspondence he compared his three wives to "Heaven, Earth, and Hell". Eight children were born of the first wife, and the father sometimes gave their names in the following bit of rhyme:

Jordan and John,
Israel and Josiah,
Lydia and Elizabeth,
Jere and Miah.⁶

Israel, the third son and the third of that name in his line, was the father of Henry Dodge. He was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, on September 3, 1760. The spirit of adventure and a love for daring seem to have been born in him, and when but a lad of fifteen years he visited the coast of Africa on board a slaver. Two years later the Colonies were in revolt against their motherland and young Israel joined the Revolutionary troops from Connecticut. On Sep-

tember 11, 1777, he participated in the Battle of Brandywine,⁷ and in a hand-to-hand fight with a Britisher he was wounded in the chest by a bayonet. The youthful La Fayette (only three years older) also underwent his baptism of fire in this battle, and while attempting to rally the yielding patriots was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball. Later young Israel served as Second Lieutenant in the Continental army.

Near the close of the war Israel Dodge was married to Nancy Ann Hunter, whose life is filled with pioneer hardships and adventures. She was the youngest of the eight children of Joseph and Molly Hunter — a sturdy Scotch-Irish couple who settled at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where Nancy Ann was born. The father, however, did not prosper well in Pennsylvania and so the family decided to emigrate to Kentucky.

When but fifteen years of age Nancy Ann occupied with her father's family a fort in Kentucky a few miles below the mouth of the Ohio River. The stealth and treachery of the Indians made the cultivation of the soil extremely hazardous. Frequently the little garrison was reduced almost to starvation, having nothing to subsist upon except

what could be reared and cultivated in little patches around the fort. Sometimes when the savages would relax their watchfulness a few of the bolder settlers would venture out and return with a pack of game for the hungry inmates. At other times they were so closely beleaguered that they did not dare to venture outside the stockade.

Such was the situation when one day a favorite cow gave birth to a calf a short distance from the fort. Both animals were exposed to the danger of capture by the skulking warriors; and so the settlers held a hurried consultation. But realizing the danger from hidden Redskins, none of them would venture outside. Then it was that alone and unaided Nancy Ann rushed forth and seized the calf in her arms, while all eyes were fixed upon her. Carrying the calf toward the fort, with the cow closely following after, she advanced toward the stockade while a volley of arrows whistled around her. Amid the joy of those in the fort all three reached the stockade unharmed.^s

Meanwhile western immigration had been powerfully stimulated by the capture, in 1778 and 1779, of Kaskaskia and Vincennes in the Old Northwest Territory by Colonel

George Rogers Clark.⁹ The roaming, restless character of the pioneers and frontiersmen of this time is well typified in the life of John Dodge whose career is somewhat interwoven with that of his younger brother Israel.

Before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, John Dodge had been a trader at Sandusky, Ohio. Having showed his attachment to the cause of the Colonists, he was arrested by the British who carried him to Detroit and later to Quebec, from whence he escaped in 1779.¹⁰ After the war he received compensation in land for the losses he had suffered during that conflict.¹¹

In his own narrative John Dodge gives a rather gruesome account of his confinement by Henry Hamilton, the Governor and Commandant at Detroit. "He ordered me to close confinement," writes Dodge, "telling me to spend that night in making my peace with God, as it was the last night I should live: I was then hurried to a loathsome dungeon, ironed and thrown in with three criminals, being allowed neither bedding, straw or fire, although it was in the depth of winter, and so exceeding cold, that my toes were froze before morning."¹²

Arriving at Boston John Dodge attracted the attention of General Washington who recommended him to Congress as a man who might be useful in the West. From Boston he went to Virginia where, gaining the confidence of Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, he was appointed Indian Agent at Kaskaskia for the Illinois country. Israel Dodge had also been drawn into this westward current of migration and with his young wife migrated to Kaskaskia where he served under the military authority of his brother.¹³

Disagreements between the civil and the military authority arose in the Illinois country. The military officers, forced to offer worthless continental paper which the inhabitants refused to receive, were compelled to seize provisions without giving proper compensation in return. Richard Winston, the Acting Governor, charged some of the military officers with dishonesty and crime; and they in return promptly imprisoned him. This was on April 29, 1782. He complained bitterly of the "tyrannic military force" and indignantly protested against the arrest which had been made "by Israel Dodge, on an order given by John

Dodge, in despite of the civil authority.'"¹⁴

Leaving the warring factions at Kaskaskia, Israel Dodge lived for some time at the Falls of the Ohio River.¹⁵ The spirit of migration, however, again impelled him onward; and in 1788 or 1789 he left Kentucky and with his brother John removed to the Spanish province of Upper Louisiana. They settled at New Bourbon near the old French town of Ste. Genevieve, while the McDonalds, another family from Kentucky, located near St. Louis.

They had been tempted to these regions by reports concerning the rich lands and the prosperous lead mines which were offered without price to all who would occupy and improve them.¹⁶ For nearly twenty years Ste. Genevieve had been a market for lead, which, next to peltries, was the most important export of the Province of Upper Louisiana. It even served as the currency of the region, and a peck of corn exchanged for a peck of ore. Later the growth of St. Louis caused the lead trade to become centered at that city.¹⁷

Near Ste. Genevieve this Connecticut Yankee, Israel Dodge, prospered and became wealthy. In 1799 the Spanish officials

of the district of New Bourbon made a request for patriotic donations and loans to aid Spain in the European wars. In the list of donors the name of Israel Dodge, a planter, stands as one of the three heaviest contributors — his contribution being twenty piastres in lead or furs.¹⁸

On October 15, 1799, he petitioned the Lieutenant General of the province, Don Carlos Dehault de Lassus, for a grant of one thousand arpens of land upon which he had made many improvements. The commandant of the post at New Bourbon, Pierre de Lassus de Luziere, recommended the granting of the petition, declaring that the petitioner had often signalized his zeal for the King's service. "In short," he wrote, "we do attest that the said petitioner has erected, at a very great expense, several establishments, such as mills, breweries, distilleries, and others, which are of the most precious utility to the inhabitants of this section of the country." The concession of this tract of land bears the date of October 25, 1799.¹⁹

Such grants, however, were often of comparatively small value because of the few and isolated settlements, dangers from the

Indians, and remoteness from markets. It is most interesting to note that one of the tracts of land granted to Israel Dodge by the King of Spain, long after the land had passed from his descendants, furnished some of the building stone for the present capitol of the State of Iowa.²⁰

The products of his farm and of his distilleries and breweries were loaded on crude crafts, known as the "flat-bottomed boat", or the "old broad scow", and shipped down the Mississippi River to the old Spanish town of New Orleans. The river pirates added to the risks of such long trips; but such dangers did not deter the man who had faced the British bayonets at Brandywine.

On one of these trips,²¹ when far down the Mississippi, Israel Dodge's boat was boarded in broad daylight by a modern "Rob Roy", backed by a gang of river pirates. Placing their guns at the heads of Dodge and his defenseless crew, the pirates ordered them to row the boat ashore where they could plunder the cargo to their own satisfaction and if need be murder captain and crew. Israel Dodge, however, retained his self-possession and watched the pirate chief closely. Noticing something in his

speech and bearing which aroused the belief that he was a Mason, Dodge offered him a grip or sign.

The effect of this act was instantaneous. Turning to his companions, the man of blood and plunder exclaimed: "Boys! we must let this man and his boat go." They did so, and the chief graciously accepted a barrel of flour and some bacon as presents for his kindness and courtesy. Thankful to escape so easily the crew continued its winding journey down the river and landed safely at New Orleans, where they exchanged their flour, bacon, and spirits for Spanish gold.

By the year 1799 the population of Upper Louisiana numbered 6028, of whom 4948 were whites, 883 slaves, and 197 free colored persons.²² Although this territory had been under Spanish sway for thirty-seven years the region never became Spanish in spirit or population but remained French during the entire period of Spanish domination. For years the population of the American Commonwealths had pressed against the Spanish boundaries and had indeed overflowed into the region west of the Mississippi. The control of the Mississippi as well as of the port of New Orleans was of consequence to every

farmer, planter, tree-feller, and frontiersman on this side of the Alleghanies. The retrocession by Spain of the vast empire of Louisiana to France in October, 1800, and its cession by Napoleon (April 30, 1803) to the United States were, therefore, but the working out of the destiny of American westward expansion.

On March 9, 1804, Israel Dodge witnessed at St. Louis the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States. Captain Amos Stoddard, acting for both France and the United States, received possession of the territory from the last Spanish Governor, Carlos Dehault de Lassus. On the next day the stars and stripes of the United States replaced the eagles of the Republic of France. Amid the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants might have been heard the cheers of Israel Dodge swelling the joyous shouts of the Americans who were present.²³

In the same year, on October 1st, he was appointed Sheriff of the Ste. Genevieve District by William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana and of the District of Louisiana. In December he returned a *venire* for the first term of court in the dis-

trict, and was appointed to receive proposals for the building of a jail.²⁴ He continued to perform his duties as Sheriff and to farm his lands until 1806 when he died in the forty-seventh year of his age. His ashes repose near the ancient town of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

The romance of history centers about Post Vincennes (now Vincennes in Indiana) where Henry Dodge was born on October 12, 1782.²⁵ It is one of the old towns of the Mississippi Valley and one for the possession of which the great nations of the earth — France, England, and the United States — have contended. Its capture from the British on February 24, 1779, added lustre to the military exploits of Colonel George Rogers Clark. The early boyhood of Henry Dodge was spent in Kentucky amid the dangers of that “dark and bloody ground”, where five of his uncles perished in Indian warfare.

When but fourteen years of age — so runs the story ²⁶— young Henry Dodge saw in a Kentucky village a brawny savage standing over the prostrate form of a woman and threatening to scalp her with a butcher knife. Responding to the screams of the

woman for help the lad seized a stone and with it felled the Indian to the ground. Believing that the Indian was dead and fearing revenge from the other Indians, Nancy Ann warned the boy to flee for his life. After spending the night in a graveyard he joined a band of pioneers bound for the West and soon reached the town of Ste. Genevieve.

Here under the fostering care of Israel Dodge the boy grew to manhood. John Dodge had also joined his brother in Upper Louisiana, and during the Spanish domination all three were for some time engaged in making salt upon the Saline River.²⁷

Henry Dodge learned to work at an early age. With the help of the slaves he worked on the farm and directed its operations. He learned and performed the various duties connected with his father's mills, breweries, and distilleries. He was fond of hunting and dangerous exploits, and thus laid the foundation of a healthy and vigorous body.

No doubt he often accompanied his father on his trips down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. He had successfully courted Christina McDonald, and in 1800 in the "Bonne Homme" settlement (a few miles west of St. Louis) he was married when she

was but fifteen years old.²⁸ Early in 1805 he served as Deputy Sheriff under his father in the Ste. Genevieve District — an office which was the first in his long civil and military career of about fifty years.

II

CIVIL AND MILITARY MATTERS 1805-1821

THESE sixteen years of Dodge's life are typical of the life of an intelligent, aggressive man of southeastern Missouri in the early part of the nineteenth century. This period witnesses the exit of the old Spanish régime, changes in territorial jurisdictions, the effects upon a frontier community of a war with a foreign power, the transition from Territory to Statehood, and the operation of those political and social forces which bore fruitage in the Commonwealth of Missouri. And in all these matters Henry Dodge bore a part.

It will be recalled that what is now the State of Missouri was by the act of March 26, 1804, placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor and Judges of the Indiana Territory.²⁹ Substantially the same five old administrative districts of the Spanish régime were retained and later became known as counties. The District of Ste. Genevieve,

the residence of Henry Dodge, thus became a legatee of the political estate of the old Spanish administration as well as that of the Old Northwest Territory. Such is the political background upon which the public career of Henry Dodge is to be sketched.

Late in 1804 and in 1805 a system of local government was established in the Ste. Genevieve District. Courts were organized, public buildings were erected, townships were created, and a system of taxation was inaugurated. There is a record that in March of 1805 Henry Dodge and five others were indicted and convicted of assault and battery. In September of the same year Dodge qualified as Sheriff of the Ste. Genevieve District—an office which he filled for a period of sixteen years.³⁰

This was an important office and was vested with a large number of duties and powers. Moreover, in addition to the powers which the office possesses to-day, the Sheriff of Ste. Genevieve was an important official of financial administration, sometimes performing the duties of assessor, collector, and treasurer.³¹ In 1805 the total tax levy for the Ste. Genevieve District was \$1171.94. Not until 1821 was a court-house

built and courts were compelled to meet in the parish house, in the tavern, or in private dwellings. After 1814 the sessions were held at the home of Henry Dodge where testimony was given, arguments heard, and justice rendered.³²

Such a frontier community, with its sparse settlements and opportunities for the escape of criminals, demanded a Sheriff with energy and decision to hunt down the desperate characters of the District. The two executions made during Sheriff Dodge's administration were those of Peter Johnson and Charles Heath. Peter Johnson was hanged on August 3, 1810, for the murder of John Spear; and Charles Heath met a similar fate on March 9, 1812, for the murder of Hugh Jones. These were the first legal executions in the history of the county.³³

Meanwhile Aaron Burr had, since the summer of 1805, been dreaming of conquests and empires far to the Southwest, and in 1806 had made a trip down the Ohio River. Vague rumors were afloat to the effect that Burr was to capture the Spanish province of Mexico, place himself upon the throne, or perhaps annex the province to the United

States. This enterprise naturally stirred the blood of adventurous characters who would have welcomed a fight with the Spanish Dons. Henry Dodge and Colonel Jack Smith T. (then a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Ste. Genevieve) constituted a pair of such daring men, and they set out to join the Burr expedition.

Hearing that Burr was to meet recruits at New Madrid, Dodge and Smith floated down to that place in canoes. But upon their arrival they learned of President Jefferson's proclamation which declared the expedition unlawful. "Cols. Smith and Dodge were mortified; sold their canoes, bought horses, and came back home to Ste. Genevieve. When Dodge got to town he found great excitement; the grand jury were in session, and had actually indicted Dodge and Smith for treason. Dodge surrendered himself and gave bail for his appearance. After doing this, Dodge, who considered himself greatly outraged by the action of the grand jury, pulled off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, and whipped nine of the grand jurors. Henry Dodge was a tall man, over six feet high, as straight as an Indian, and possessed of great strength. He would have

whipped every member of the grand jury if the rest had not run away.'"³⁴

Accounts of civil matters touching the life of Henry Dodge during this period are comparatively meagre. During the early years of his term as Sheriff he was one of a party who dismantled an old cannon at Fort Chartres. Embarking upon a keel-boat, which was rowed up the Mississippi River by negroes, they transported the historic cannon to Ste. Genevieve where it often pealed forth in honor of American independence.³⁵ In 1808 he was one of the twenty-one trustees of Ste. Genevieve Academy.³⁶ Three years later he and John Scott (who was later the Delegate from the Territory of Missouri) were seconds in a duel between Dr. Walter Fenwick and Thomas T. Crittenden, in which the former was mortally wounded. This duel is typical of the many that occurred on the frontier in which Henry Dodge lived.³⁷

On June 4, 1812, the Territory of Missouri was created, and in the next year Henry Dodge was appointed Marshal for the new Territory. His commission bore the signatures of President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe. In 1806

and 1807 he had held rank in the militia of Ste. Genevieve as Lieutenant and Adjutant, while later he was appointed First Lieutenant and then Captain in the Ste. Genevieve Troop of Cavalry.

A remarkable list³⁸ of the commissions of Henry Dodge, preserved by his son and later presented to the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa, epitomizes the civil and military career of Henry Dodge. These commissions embrace a period of service of over forty years and bear the signatures of presidents, governors, secretaries of state, and other high officials. Indeed, there are few, if any, collections of documentary history of the West which can equal this one in unique interest.

Henry Dodge was in his thirtieth year when war was declared against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. By experience, taste, and capacity he was fitted to take a useful part in this encounter. Although the people of southeastern Missouri were far removed from the principal theatre of the war they had to participate in several engagements with the Indians and to exercise ceaseless vigilance against this dangerous foe. For years before 1812 British traders

along the Great Lakes and the Northwest had been fomenting dissatisfaction among the Indians and had even supplied them with arms and ammunition. After the declaration of war the British agents of the Upper Mississippi increased their activities in inciting the Indians to war. On September 5, 1812, the Sacs and Foxes of Rock River, assisted by the Winnebagoes under Black Hawk, made an unsuccessful attack on Fort Madison on the Mississippi River.³⁹ The next year it was twice attacked by marauding bands. "Boone Lick Settlement", consisting of about one hundred and fifty families in what are now Howard and Cooper counties of Missouri, was in a very exposed condition and suffered frequent depredations.

Such events roused Governor William Clark to action, and in 1814 the militia of the Territory was organized. Henry Dodge, on January 17th of that year, had been commissioned Brigadier General of the Territorial militia, and in Ste. Genevieve County he had raised a mounted volunteer rifle company of which he became the Captain.⁴⁰ It was evident that a vigorous campaign was to be pushed in order to insure the future peace

and safety of the settlers and their property. Waiving his rank as General and taking command as Lieutenant Colonel of mounted men, Dodge was now (in September, 1814) ordered to march to the relief of the "Boone Lick Settlement", which lay along the Missouri River about two hundred and fifty miles to the northwest of Ste. Genevieve where for several years its one hundred and fifty families had been exposed to Indian dangers.

Dodge's force consisted of three hundred and fifty mounted men, commanded by the following Captains: John W. Thompson of St. Louis, Isaac Van Bibber of Loutre Lick, Henry Poston of the Missouri Mining Region, Sarshall Cooper of the "Boone Lick Settlement", and Daugherty of Cape Girardeau. Majors Nathaniel Cook and Daniel M. Boone, Benjamin Cooper (a brother of Sarshall Cooper), and David Barton (later a United States Senator from Missouri) accompanied the force. Besides these volunteers there were about forty friendly Shawnees commanded by four war captains — Na-kour-me, Kish-kal-le-wa, Pap-pi-qua, and Wa-pe-pil-le-se. Both Pap-pi-qua and Wa-pe-pil-le-se were fully seventy years old

and had had much service in the "dark and bloody ground".

After several days of steady marching⁴¹ they reached the "Boone Lick Settlement". At Arrow Rock they prepared to cross the Missouri, and Dodge selected six of his most active men for the advance. The others, flanked by canoes, struck through the swift stream and reached the southern bank in safety. Two hours were consumed in crossing with all the horses, baggage, arms, etc.

Meanwhile the Shawnee scouts had found and reported the locality of the hostile Miamis, who had erected a small fort. Dodge urged his men forward several miles up the river and in the night discovered and surrounded the enemy in what is known as Miami Bend in Saline County. Through the Shawnees the Miamis offered to surrender. Dodge now called a council of his officers, who advised that the Indians be received as prisoners and that their lives be sacredly preserved. For the latter, declared Dodge, the officers and their men should be held personally responsible. The Indians numbering thirty-one warriors and one hundred and twenty-two women and children then formally surrendered.

The next morning, when searching for hidden property, the troops found the well-known rifle of Campbell, the potter, who had been slain by the Indians some months before. The enraged Boone Lick troops now insisted that the murderer be surrendered; and Captain Cooper, at Dodge's refusal, threatened in behalf of his company to kill the whole of the Indians and by common consent his men cocked their rifles. The Indian warriors fell upon their knees and prepared for death. Without turning to the armed men Dodge now drew his sword, thrust the point within six inches of Cooper's breast, and reminded him of the pledge to protect the prisoners. He could not see them slaughtered in cold blood, and declared that if the Boone Lick men fired upon them Captain Cooper should instantly suffer the consequences.

"At this critical moment", reads Draper's notes, "Major Daniel M. Boone came dashing up to Gen. Dodge's side, and said he would stand by him to the last, and he taunted Cooper with the treachery of the act he proposed. Dodge was firm, never taking his eye from Cooper's. Boone presented a determined countenance, as brave men always

do when actuated by noble purposes. At length Cooper yielded, and Dodge ordered him to take his place in the line, and march away. He doggedly obeyed, and his men rode by. The Indians now jumped to their feet with expressions of joy and gratitude to Dodge and Boone. The Shawanoes, too, were much gratified that the Miamis were spared."

Twenty-one years later Kish-kal-le-wa visited his old commander at Fort Leavenworth and revived the incidents of this scene in which Dodge had borne a most magnanimous part. In a long retrospect of Indian warfare Dodge could well look upon his conduct in saving these prisoners as one of the happiest acts of his life.

Such was the part of Henry Dodge in the War of 1812. After the treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814, several treaties of peace had to be made with savage tribes which had been in league with Great Britain or at war with the United States. Military men often participated in these treaties for the purpose of impressing the Indians with a military force, of preserving order, and of witnessing the treaty itself. Henry Dodge's knowledge of Indian character, his compre-

hension of frontier life and conditions, and his military experience well fitted him to take part in treaty-making. The two treaties which he helped to make and to which his name stands as a witness are those between William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors of the Teton and the Yankton Sioux tribes. These treaties of peace and friendship were signed on July 19, 1815.⁴²

After the War of 1812 Henry Dodge exchanged the occupation of war for that of lead-mining. Subsequent to the year 1818 there was a persistent agitation for the admission of Missouri as a State. In May of 1820 Henry Dodge was chosen as one of the four delegates from Ste. Genevieve County to attend the constitutional convention at St. Louis in the following June. Here he met his former comrades-in-arms, David Barton and Nathaniel Cook, and such men as Nathan Boone and John Scott who were delegates at this convention.⁴³ The convention adopted the Constitution on July 19, 1820; and Henry Dodge thus witnessed the last and permanent stage in the early political evolution of Missouri.

III

LEAD-MINING IN MISSOURI, ILLINOIS, AND MICHIGAN TERRITORY

THE earliest movements into what is now Missouri were prompted by the hope of finding mineral wealth; and in this search the French, the Spanish, and the settlers of Illinois had joined. Lead, peltries, and salt were the principal articles of export when Louisiana was first acquired by the United States. As early as 1809 the first shot-tower was in operation at Herculaneum. While the lead was abundant and easily mined the cost of transporting it from the mines to the river had always been a problem.⁴⁴

Henry Dodge had grown to manhood in the lead-mining region and undoubtedly had served his apprenticeship in his father's business of salt and lead-mining and in the operation of distilleries. No doubt he had often accompanied Israel Dodge in his trips down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. After the war he had resumed his business

of salt-making at the mouth of the Saline River. While this business was profitable, the use of steamboats after 1817 cheapened transportation from the Ohio Valley so that prices declined from \$5.00 to \$.75 a bushel. In Jefferson County he carried on the business of mining and smelting lead. The old Spanish milled dollars were still in use; but there was no small coin. "I have frequently seen my father", said his son Augustus, "go to a blacksmith shop with a bag of silver dollars, and then cut them up into halves, quarters and eighths, for small change. My mother made buckskin pockets in his clothes to carry this fractional currency."⁴⁵

For several years the fame of the Upper Mississippi Lead Mines had been spreading and their steady competition had seriously embarrassed Henry Dodge's fortune. Since 1822 hordes of speculators and squatters from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and southern Illinois had rushed to the Fever River lead region in upper Illinois. Drawn into this current of migration, Henry Dodge emigrated in 1827⁴⁶ with his wife, nine children, and a family of slaves to this new land of opportunity.

Embarking on the "Indiana" the Dodges

with other miners soon reached the Rapids of the River Des Moines where they were forced to transfer to a keel-boat. For twenty-four days this primitive craft was rowed and towed against the steady current of the Mississippi by some forty French oarsmen up to Galena — a distance of about two hundred miles. Shovels, picks, buckets, and windlasses were stowed in the boat. The apartments for passengers were crowded; while the food was in keeping with the other discomforts. Montrose and Fort Madison were left behind. Passing the bluffs where now stands Burlington, Henry Dodge little thought that here he would spend his last days and find his final resting-place.⁴⁷

Arriving at Galena late in the summer of 1827, Henry Dodge spent several months in prospecting for lead; and he also assisted in quelling Indian disturbances and outbreaks to be described later. Everywhere he found an enterprising and adventurous set of men. Population was increasing by strides and bounds; labor was scarce and high-priced; and in July, 1828, there was a demand for five hundred men who could find employment at \$17 to \$25 per month with board.⁴⁸ "You cannot get", writes an observer in

December, 1827, "a hand even to cook or to wait about your house for less than \$15 per month in silver".⁴⁹

It is likely that Dodge could find no desirable location in the region about Galena; and so on the 3rd of November, 1827, he established himself near the present city of Dodgeville in what is now Iowa County, Wisconsin — then a portion of Michigan Territory.⁵⁰ Such men as Charles Bracken, Ebenezer Brigham, and John H. Roundtree also migrated to the lead region to devote themselves to the lead industry. Henry Dodge was one of the first to build a smelting furnace.⁵¹

"He made friendly terms with the Indians of the neighborhood", writes Salter, "and gave them presents as in the way of rent for occupying their lands. He made a home for his family, and took precautions for their protection and safety. More than a hundred miners soon gathered to the 'camp'. The neighborhood resounded with the stroke of the ax and the click of tools. Shafts were sunk in every direction. He discovered the only lode in the region that proved to be of much value."⁵²

The political problems of this frontier

community were the outgrowth of economic conditions. It was inconceivable that the rich lead deposits could long remain in their virgin state. The trespassing of the squatter miners tended to bring them into conflict with Federal statutes and with the Indians — treaties with whom too often lacked definiteness. Not a little of the activity of Dodge in the mining district consisted in adjusting his relations with the Federal statutes, with Indian Agents, and with the Indian tribes.

In January of 1828 Joseph M. Street, the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, reported to William Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, that Dodge with about fifty well-armed men had settled upon ground which had been reserved by the treaty of August 24, 1816. "Many are flocking to him from Fever River", wrote Street, "and he permits them to join upon paying certain stipulated portions of the original purchase. The ore is more abundant, nearer the surface, and obtained with greater facility than ever known in this country. It is said that he has raised about half a million of mineral, smelted from 900 to 1000 bars, and is smelting fifty bars a day. With

two negro men he raises about 2000 pounds per day.”⁵³

Mutterings of discontent now arose among the Winnebagoes whose lands had thus been encroached upon, and Street became greatly alarmed. Sub-Agent John Marsh was sent to notify Dodge to move off instantly if he did not wish to be removed by force. “Gen. Dodge”, wrote the sub-agent,⁵⁴ “resides in a small stockade fort near the principal mine. There are about twenty log houses in the immediate vicinity, besides several more remote. He has a double furnace in constant operation, and a large quantity of lead in bars and in the crude state. From the best information I have been able to obtain there are about one hundred and thirty men engaged in mining at this place, and completely armed with rifles and pistols. I was also informed that there [were] about fifteen Winnebagoes ten or twelve miles distant who frequently visit the mines, and who have been presented by Gen. Dodge with several hundred dollars worth of provisions and merchandise. When about to return, I was desired by Gen. Dodge to inform you that he should leave the country as soon as he conveniently could.”

Henry Dodge declined, however, to leave the mining region, believing that more definite treaties with the Indians should and would be made in the near future. Although Agent Street had attempted to raise a military force with which to oust him, Dodge and his miners held their ground and remained unmolested. He had not long to wait for the extinguishment of the titles to the Indian lands. Indeed his own name stands appended as a witness to the treaty of August 1, 1829,⁵⁵ by which the Winnebagoes sold their lands in the mining district to the United States. The consideration was \$18,000 and large quantities of merchandise — both to be paid annually for thirty years.

From Helena on the Wisconsin River he continued to ship lead to New Orleans, as his father Israel Dodge had done thirty years before. These river shipments, made without transferring the cargoes to steamers at St. Louis, required over three months. When the Indian lands came into market he bought more than a thousand acres, and upon this land he lived for nearly forty years.⁵⁶

The increase of population, wealth, and commerce due to the development of the lead

industry now created a demand for a separate Territory. In this demand the inhabitants of the lead region found an able and willing champion in Henry Dodge. Himself vitally interested in the industry he well foresaw that an expanding trade and population would soon require more adequate laws and administration than could be furnished by the Legislative Assembly at Detroit — nearly a thousand miles away. The business relations of the miners were with Missouri, Illinois, and the General Government rather than with the peninsula of Michigan.

To Austin E. Wing, the Territorial Delegate from Michigan, he stated his views in February of 1829.⁵⁷ “Taxation and representation should go together,” he urged, “and it will readily appear, on examination of the returns made by the superintendent of the United States’ lead-mines, that the people of this mining country have paid a greater amount of taxes than any equal number of citizens in the United States, or Territories; and *that*, a direct tax upon the labour of the whole community.” He pointed out that representation was inadequate; that the laws were not adapted to the com-

munity; and that the protection from Indians was insufficient.

In 1831 Henry Dodge and Morgan L. Martin were elected to the Fifth Legislative Council of Michigan Territory to represent the whole region west of Lake Michigan; but the events of the Black Hawk War the next year prevented Dodge from attending the sessions at Detroit.⁵⁸

Three days before his election he had again expressed his views concerning the division of the Territory. "Laws then can be made", he said, "suited to the manners, habits, and condition of the people residing within the limits of the contemplated territory. The relation we stand to the General Government makes it important to us that we should have a direct representation at Washington. Living on the United States lands and working their lead mines, it becomes a matter of much interest to the mining country that the rights of pre-emption should be secured to them on the most liberal principles both for the farms they occupy as well as their mineral grounds."⁵⁹

A few months later in behalf of the mining region he prepared and addressed a memorial to the Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, in

which he clearly described the situation and the conditions of the citizens living in the mineral region.⁶⁰ The United States Government had invited the people to the lead region when it could not give them protection on the frontiers. Indian hostilities in 1827 forced a suspension of work for one year and left them without the means of returning to the communities from which they had emigrated. Under such conditions the people settled upon the mineral lands. Furthermore, he urged, millions of pounds of lead had been given to the United States as rent since 1827. The price of lead had declined, and the memorialists earnestly hoped that the tariff on the article would not be increased.

Should the government decide to survey and then sell the mineral lands, Dodge urged that each miner who had complied with the government laws should be given the privilege of working out all discoveries made on mineral lots or surveys. Without such a reservation miners who have had mineral lands in their possession for years might be left destitute through the purchase of their lands by speculators.

Many events combined to delay for four

years the division of Michigan Territory; and in the meantime Henry Dodge's active career in the mining industry ends and becomes transferred for four years to the drill-ground, the camp, the march, and the field of battle. By the people of the mining country his services were valued and, indeed, happily remembered when in 1836 a Governor for the original Territory of Wisconsin was appointed.

IV

INDIAN UPRISINGS AND DISCONTENT

SINCE the war of 1812 the General Government had enjoyed peace with the Indian tribes, and many treaties of friendship had been negotiated prior to 1827 — a year that marks the beginning of a period of spasmodic Indian disturbances with which Henry Dodge's military career becomes linked. A brief retrospect into the causes and conditions of these outbreaks is necessary to secure a narrative of the Indian wars of more than three quarters of a century ago.

By the treaty of August 24, 1816, a division line was run between the lands of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies of the Illinois River and those of the Winnebagoes.⁶¹ This treaty was subsequently reaffirmed by the Winnebagoes in the treaty of August 19, 1825.⁶² Upon the lands of the former the treaty had allowed (under certain conditions) diggings and settlements to

be made. In the years 1825 and 1826 the lead mania was at its height. Diggings were commenced and pushed without regard to the treaty line until at last the mines were in the acknowledged territory of the Winnebagoes.

The Indians remonstrated and even contended against the miners who drove them from their own lands. The Indians became much soured, exhibited symptoms of great discontent, and behaved roughly to miners crossing the Rock River (within the Winnebago limits) and passing to their diggings. The Indians charged and exacted heavy toll and in some cases forced property from the trespassers. Thus were the Indians "driven from the mines, and spoiled of the valuable product of the mines on their lands, and goaded into a state of high excitement".⁶³

Such were the beginnings of Winnebago discontent when Henry Dodge was about to migrate from Missouri to the lead region of the Upper Mississippi. It had been hoped that the treaty of August 25th would be a lasting one; but during the winter of 1826-1827 the older citizens of Prairie du Chien had grave fears of Indian uprisings and outrages in the following spring.⁶⁴ Moreover,

these fears were well grounded ; for in March of 1827 a man named Methode, his wife, and five children were killed by Winnebagoes about twelve miles above Prairie du Chien. Red Bird, a Winnebago chief, with two others murdered Solomon Litcap and Registre Gagnier and scalped a baby near the same village late in June, 1827.⁶⁵

On the same day (June 26th) the Winnebago and Sac Indians fiercely attacked two keel-boats at the mouth of the Bad Axe River above Prairie du Chien. Two of the crew were killed and four wounded ; while among the Indians seven were killed and a large number wounded.⁶⁶

Arms, ammunition, and men were now hastily gathered at Fort Crawford and at Galena where Brigadier General Henry Atkinson had arrived from St. Louis with a force of six hundred infantry and one hundred and fifty mounted men. Everywhere the enterprising miners were forsaking their diggings and fortifying their stockades.

Meanwhile Henry Dodge had arrived at Galena, where it was soon learned that he was a man experienced in Indian warfare. A company of one hundred mounted volunteers was raised from the miners and Dodge

was chosen its commander. The settlers of the surrounding country had fled into Galena for safety. "The little place", wrote an eye-witness, "was crowded with families pouring in from all parts of the Mines. The flat prairie between the bluff and the river was covered with wagons, the families camping in them; block-houses were erected on the hill, companies forming, drums beating, and Gen. Dodge was busily engaged in organizing troops, and creating order and confidence out of terror and confusion." ⁶⁷

Dodge now coöperated with Brigadier General Atkinson, to whom he wrote from Galena: "As the principal part of the efficient force is preparing to accompany you on your expedition up the Ouisconsin, it might have a good effect to send a small regular force to this part of the country, and in our absence they might render protection to this region." ⁶⁸

Red Bird and his Winnebagoes had fled up the Wisconsin River. Thither Dodge marched his men, one detachment going to Prairie du Chien and the remainder to English Prairie (now Muscoda) in the northeast corner of Grant County. These mounted men scoured both sides of the Wis-

consin River from its mouth to the Portage, driving everything before them. It was at this time that Dodge saved the life of the fifteen year old son of Chief Winneshiek, who was almost shot because he refused to surrender.⁶⁹

Major William Whistler had collected a force at the Portage and had been given orders to await the arrival of Atkinson's force. "The Winnebagoes were now in a desperate plight", declares an historian of these Indian wars. "With Col. Snelling in command at Fort Crawford, with a large force of regulars and volunteers, confronted by Major Whistler and his troops, and with Gen. Atkinson following their retreat, aided by Dodge and his mounted volunteers, who drove them out of every hiding place, there seemed to be no alternative for them but to appeal to the lenient mercy of their pursuers."⁷⁰

The Indians to the number of several hundred were at this time encamped within a few miles of the place where Major Whistler's force was collected. Hearing of the quick marches of Atkinson and Dodge the Winnebagoes were filled with consternation. In a few days a truce was sent to

Major Whistler who received the surrender of Red Bird and the other Indians who had committed the murders.⁷¹

Such was the Winnebago War of 1827. Through the prompt efforts of Governor Lewis Cass the military forces of the Territory were quickly mobilized and a general Indian uprising was prevented. "The termination of the Winnebago war", writes Moses M. Strong, "brought a temporary restoration of peace, which revived anew the adventurous spirit of immigration, and brought with it a large influx of miners and others to the Lead Mines, and prosperity and progress constantly attended the increasing settlements of the country, which received no material check until the occurrence of the Black Hawk war in 1832."⁷²

When Dodge removed to the lead region of Wisconsin in 1827 he became a tireless advocate of the rights of the miners. When mutterings of discontent arose from the Winnebagoes he was foremost in memorializing the government for better frontier protection. In 1828 Fort Winnebago was erected with special reference to keeping the tribe in order. By the treaty of August 1, 1829,⁷³ the Winnebagoes ceded to the United

States their claims to the lead region between the Wisconsin and Rock rivers and thus relieved the people of that country of a restless and dangerous tribe.

Another Indian disturbance broke out in Illinois in 1831. It was the prelude to the Black Hawk War in which Henry Dodge, who since 1827 had not forsaken the peaceful pursuits of lead mining and smelting, was to win fame and glory in the battles of Pecatonica, Wisconsin Heights, and Bad Axe as the "captain of an aggressive civilization". And it is in this preliminary disturbance that the chief actor in the dramatic episode of 1832, known as the Black Hawk War, prepares his rôle.

The restless Black Hawk (Black Sparrow Hawk or Makataimeshekiakiak) was the leader of the Sac (or Sauk) village at the mouth of the Rock River near the present site of Rock Island. Born in 1767 he had been a warrior from his youth, had been in the service of the British in the War of 1812, and had been aid-de-camp to the great Tecumseh. After the close of that war he had never joined in making peace with the United States; but he and his band had kept up their connection with Canada.⁷⁴

Black Hawk's entire village was included in the territory ceded by the Sacs and Foxes in the treaty of November 3, 1804.⁷⁵ The validity of this treaty was denied by Black Hawk, although it had been ratified and confirmed in the subsequent treaty of May 13, 1816,⁷⁶ to which Black Hawk's mark stands affixed. The treaty of August 19, 1825,⁷⁷ had likewise recognized the binding force of these compacts.

By the spring of 1831 the whites were already in possession of the country surrounding Black Hawk's village and were even invading the village itself. With about three hundred warriors, together with their women and children, Black Hawk now recrossed the Mississippi from the west, determined to regain the possession of the home of his people and the resting place of their ancestors. "He ordered the white settlers away, threw down their fences, unroofed their houses, cut up their grain, drove off and killed their cattle, and threatened the people with death if they remained. The settlers made their complaints to Governor Reynolds. The acts of the Indians were considered by the Governor to be an invasion of the State."⁷⁸

The cry of war was raised, and by June

10th as many as fifteen hundred volunteers had rushed to Beardstown on the Illinois River and were prepared to march to the seat of war. When the volunteers reached the site of Black Hawk's village they found that the enemy had fled that morning to the west side of the Mississippi River. The soldiers set fire to the wigwams, and thus perished forever an ancient village which had been the pleasant abode of thousands of Indians.

General Edmund P. Gaines, commanding the volunteers, had threatened to pursue the fleeing Indians, and Black Hawk and his braves now returned to sue for peace. A treaty was signed on June 30, 1831, by Major General Gaines, Governor John Reynolds, and the chiefs and braves of the Sacs, or "British Band of Rock River", whereby the latter recognized former treaties and agreed to remain forever on the west side of the Mississippi River.⁷⁹

"The Sauks were as completely humbled", remarked Major General Gaines, "as if they had been chastised in battle, and less disposed to disturb the frontier inhabitants."⁸⁰ But in this he was mistaken, since the treaty only shifted the principal theatre

of operations for the Black Hawk War nearer to the region where Atkinson and Dodge had pursued the Winnebagoes four years before.

V

THE BLACK HAWK WAR⁸¹

THE Black Hawk War was an Indian War in northern Illinois and in the southern part of what is now the State of Wisconsin and was carried on between April 6th and August 2, 1832. It engaged on the one side from five hundred to eight hundred Sacs and Winnebagoes commanded by Black Hawk and the Prophet Neapope and on the other about four thousand regulars, militiamen, and volunteers officered by such men as Henry Atkinson, Milton K. Alexander, Alexander Posey, James D. Henry, and Henry Dodge. The principal engagements are known as Stillman's Defeat, and the battles of Pecatonica, Wisconsin Heights, and Bad Axe. The causes of this war have been indicated in the preceding chapter.

For several months after the treaty of June, 1831, Black Hawk had nursed his wrath against the whites while he was wintering near Fort Madison with his British

band of Sacs. On the 6th of April, 1832, they crossed the Mississippi River at Yellow Banks and invaded the Commonwealth of Illinois.⁸² The die was cast.

It was not, however, until a week later that Brigadier General Atkinson, then commanding the Western Department, learned of the invasion and informed Governor John Reynolds.⁸³ The latter at once issued a flaming proclamation directing that the militia be assembled at Beardstown on the 22nd of April.⁸⁴ It appears that Atkinson was sending troops, arms, ammunition, boats, stores, and camp equipage from St. Louis. He also dispatched messengers to Black Hawk threatening him with expulsion by force of arms if he did not at once withdraw to the country west of the Mississippi River.

Meanwhile Black Hawk's band was moving up the Rock River. The militia, marching on April 27th from Beardstown to Yellow Banks, began the pursuit of Black Hawk early in May. On May 12th Dixon's Ferry was reached. Here they found Major Isaiah Stillman with a battalion of two hundred and seventy-five men awaiting the force from Beardstown under Brigadier General Samuel Whiteside.⁸⁵ Pursuant to

Stillman's wishes this battalion was ordered "to proceed without delay to the head of Old Man's Creek, where it is supposed there are some hostile Indians and coerce them into submission." ⁸⁶

On the 14th of May these raw, undisciplined, and insubordinate troops, more or less filled with frolic and fermented liquor, encountered the enemy. For the whites the battle was a prototype of the battle of Bull Run. The disastrous rout resulted in the death of eleven whites and three Indians, besides the wounding of many more on both sides.⁸⁷ For the Americans, Stillman's Defeat (or Stillman's Run) remained the most disastrous encounter of the Black Hawk War.

This event inaugurated a reign of terror in the region between the Illinois and the Wisconsin rivers. The newspapers teem with florid descriptions of the war. **TO ARMS! TO ARMS! BLOOD AND CARNAGE MARK BLACK HAWK'S PATH!** Thus read the headlines of bold faced type. The government is criticized for not providing proper protection. Racy reports of Indian attacks, movements of troops, and the valor of commanders follow; while the effects of

the war upon mining and farming are expressed in bitter lamentations.⁸⁸

Henry Dodge at this time held the commission of Colonel in the militia of Iowa County of Michigan Territory. On April 25th Brigadier General Henry Atkinson had directed him to raise as many mounted men as could be found in that county. This was done.⁸⁹ The wave of fear and excitement had by this time reached the mining region where Dodge lived, and on May 8th he wrote a letter to Governor John Reynolds.⁹⁰ In this communication he indicated the exposed situation of the miners and expressed his fear of a general union and uprising of the Indian tribes. "Could you detach a part of your command across the Rock River," he suggested, "you would afford our settlements immediate protection."

About this time Colonel Dodge with twenty-seven mounted men (including his son Augustus Caesar) started (on the 8th or 9th of May) on a reconnoitering expedition to the Rock River to ascertain the movements of Black Hawk's band. Proceeding by way of Apple River to Buffalo Grove they came within a few miles of where Stillman had been routed a few hours before.⁹¹ "Gen.

Dodge with a *Spartan* band of about 30 miners", noted *The Galenian*, "arrived at the ferry [Dixon's] last Monday [May 14], in time to join the other troops."⁹²

Learning that Governor Reynolds could spare no troops and that the mining region was in imminent danger of Indian attack Colonel Dodge immediately returned home. He reported his fears to the miners and advised them "to fort" themselves and to organize immediately to defend their lives and property. Horses were given, purchased, and impressed for the service. Colonel Dodge's smelting works near Dodgeville were given the name of Fort Union and became his headquarters. "Fathers were frequently called upon to defend their own thresholds", said his son fifty-one years later. "And mothers and sisters moulded bullets, and carried water, filling barrels in order to have a supply during the anticipated siege. My mother and sisters have done both."⁹³

With fifty mounted volunteers commanded by Captains James H. Gentry and John H. Roundtree, Colonel Dodge now proceeded to the Four Lakes (near the present site of Madison). His trusted friend, Henry Gra-

tiot, sub-agent of the Winnebagoes, accompanied him. They intended to meet the Winnebagoes and to dissuade them from joining Black Hawk's band. The talk was given them on May 25th.⁹⁴ Dodge referred to the murderous course of Black Hawk, and declared that the great American father was the friend of the Red Skins. "The Sacs have given you bad council, they tell you lies and no truth; stop your ears to their words." If you are unfaithful to your treaties, warned Dodge, you must expect to share the fate of the Sacs. The Indians gave assurances of peace and friendship.

Returning to his headquarters Colonel Dodge learned of new Indian depredations. On May 20th near Ottawa, Illinois, Sylvia and Rachel Hall had been abducted; and about the same time fifteen persons were killed and scalped.⁹⁵ Dodge immediately raised a force of two hundred mounted men and secured the release of the prisoners from a party of friendly Winnebagoes to whom they had been surrendered.

A few days later five men (including Felix St. Vrain, the Indian Agent of the Sacs and Foxes) were killed and scalped near Buffalo Grove.⁹⁶ Early in June the volunteers

under Colonel Dodge were again on the march, and in turn they passed through Blue Mound Fort, Colonel James Morrison's farm, Gratiot's Grove, and Defiance.⁹⁷ They were a dare-devil, adventurous set of men gathered from the fields and mines. They knew no manual of arms but were spurred on by a deep hatred of the red race.

Arriving at Kirker's Place, in Jo Daviess County, the Colonel delivered a stirring address to his volunteers. He plead for harmony, union, and coolness in the presence of danger. The Indians were denounced as a faithless band of banditti who had violated all treaties. "Let us avoid surprise and ambuscades; let every volunteer lie with his arms in his hands, ready prepared for action, so that when each volunteer rises to his feet, the line of battle will be formed."⁹⁸

On the same afternoon they reached the scene of the murder of St. Vrain, whose remains they interred. The next night they encamped at Hickory Point, where five of their horses were stolen by the Indians. At Ottawa on June 11th he had a conference with Brigadier General Atkinson at which the whole future campaign was mapped out. Two days later the command again reached

Gratiot's Grove, worn and exhausted by more than a week's strenuous marching. There the volunteers were dispersed to their respective forts to rest and recuperate and to await the Colonel's further orders.⁹⁹

Mounted volunteers were arriving daily at Atkinson's headquarters. "I am convinced", writes Colonel Dodge from Gratiot's Grove on June 14, 1832, "that we are not to have peace with this banditti collection of Indians until they are killed up in their dens. They watch from the high points of timber our movements in daylight, and at night pass through the prairies from one point of timber to another, and communicate with the main body, which are in the swamps of Rock River."¹⁰⁰

The condition of the country at this time was deplorable. Fields were half plowed and deserted; houses had been vacated; mechanics, farmers, smelters, and miners had forsaken their places of business and were now huddled in the forts; cattle were running at large; the mails had stopped; and there were grave rumors of a possible famine.¹⁰¹

When Colonel Dodge reached his home at Fort Union he heard of the murder (on

June 14th) of four men near Spafford's Ford, in what is now the southeastern part of La Fayette County, Wisconsin.¹⁰² Early in the morning of the 16th Dodge hurried to Fort Hamilton, where a force was to be collected to pursue the murderers. Upon his arrival at the fort Colonel Dodge at once ordered his men to saddle, mount, form in line, and follow the trail.

Here began a two-mile chase. Forming as large a front as possible they soon found the trail in the open ground. Two streams had to be crossed, whose steep banks forced the pursuers to dismount for a minute — a delay which again gave the Indians a start. The volunteers were gaining rapidly and the Indians now sought refuge in a horse-shoe shaped bend of the Pecatonica River. This was a low swampy bottom surrounded by the steep bank of the river.

No description can excel the exciting report of the battle written by Colonel Dodge¹⁰³ to Brigadier General Atkinson: "After crossing the Pecotonica, in the open ground, I dismounted my command, linked my horses, and left four men in charge of them, and sent four men in different directions to watch the movements of the Indians,

if they should attempt to swim the Pecatonica; they were placed on high points that would give them a complete view of the enemy, should they attempt to retreat. I formed my men on foot at open order, and at trailed arms, and we proceeded through the swamp to some timber and undergrowth, where I expected to find the enemy. When I found their trail, I knew they were close at hand; they had got close to the edge of the lake, where the bank was about six feet high, which was a complete breastwork for them. They commenced the fire, when three of my men fell, two dangerously wounded, one severely but not dangerously. I instantly ordered a charge on them, made by eighteen men, which was promptly obeyed; the Indians being under the bank, our guns were brought within ten or fifteen feet of them before we could fire on them. Their party consisted of thirteen men; eleven were killed on the spot, and the remaining two were killed in crossing the lake, so that they were left without one to carry the news to their friends. The volunteers under my command behaved with great gallantry; it would be impossible for me to discriminate among them; at the word 'charge' the men rushed

forward and literally shot the Indians to pieces. We were, Indians and whites on a piece of ground not to exceed sixty feet square."

This sharp but bloody engagement fought on June 16, 1832, and called the Battle of the Pecatonica or the Battle of Horse Shoe Bend, was the first decisive victory of the war. It revived some confidence in the army which had been criticised and ridiculed and brought some relief to the frontier settlements. "This little action", wrote Governor Thomas Ford, "will equal any for courage, brilliancy and success, in the whole history of Indian wars."¹⁰⁴

Thus far the principal theatre of war had been in the State of Illinois and Black Hawk was as far from being captured as ever. Weeks and weeks had been wasted in fruitless marches, and but little glory had come to the American arms. But a new plan of campaign was decided upon late in June; and on the 30th Black Hawk and his followers crossed the border line into Michigan Territory near the site of the present city of Beloit, Wisconsin.¹⁰⁵

After the Battle of the Pecatonica Colonel Dodge had spent some time at Galena,¹⁰⁶

where he looked after supplies for destitute families. From there with a company of volunteers he marched to Blue Mounds to bury the bodies of Lieutenant George Force and Emerson Green, whom the Indians had slain on the 20th of June.¹⁰⁷ About a week later his forces assembled at Fort Hamilton.¹⁰⁸

On the 28th of June the whole army to the number of about four thousand men set out in pursuit of Black Hawk and his fleeing braves. Colonel Dodge and Brigadier General Posey formed the left wing of the army on the west side of the Rock River; Alexander's command, also on the west side, formed the center; while the brigades of Atkinson and Henry on the east bank formed the right wing.¹⁰⁹ For over three weeks the chase continued in long and weary marches. Through the heat and rains of the July month it led across rivers, through swamps and tangled forests in the southern portion of the present State of Wisconsin.

Atkinson was becoming short of provisions, and the campaign looked dismal in every respect. On the 10th of July the commands under Henry, Alexander, and Dodge were dispatched to Fort Winnebago about

eighty miles to the northwest. Here they were to secure provisions and return with all possible haste. Their orders allowed them to follow the Indian trail in case they should find it.¹¹⁰

Colonel Dodge was the first to reach the fort where two days were spent in getting provisions. Hearing that Black Hawk was encamped farther up the Rock River the three commanders held a council, and it was decided that Alexander should return to Atkinson while Dodge and Henry should march against the enemy. On the 15th the march began and on the third day they reached the Hutisford Rapids in Dodge County, where Black Hawk had camped, only to discover that the wily enemy had flown.

Meanwhile an express¹¹¹ had been sent to Atkinson which, after proceeding a few miles, found a fresh trail and immediately returned and reported the discovery. At once the camp was aglow with excitement and on the morning of the 20th of July the chase by Henry and Dodge began. On that day a large body of Indians was discovered by the scouts, and for thirty miles a running fire was kept up during the whole day. Late

in the afternoon the immediate commands under Colonels Henry Dodge and L. D. Ewing overtook the Indians at the bluffs of the Wisconsin River.

“A line of battle was immediately formed,” wrote a participant the next day,¹¹² “and the Indians *repulsed*. About sunset they returned, re-inforced, and made a most desperate effort to break our lines. But our men stood *firmly*, and compelled the enemy to *retreat*. They then took possession of a ravine, where the grass was so high as to conceal them. As soon as their position was ascertained, the order ‘*charge*’ was given, and executed with such promptitude and effect, as again to compel them to *retire* from their *strong hold*.”

The battle lasted for about an hour. “The heads of the Indians above the grass,” continues this report, “resembled *stumps in a newly cleared forest*. We killed *three* Indians in the pursuit, and we suppose, not less than *forty* in the battle. I am very happy to state that we lost but *one* killed, and *eight* wounded.” This decisive engagement is known as the Battle of Wisconsin Heights.

Weary and worn from the long chase, the victors waited for reinforcements. The

Indians had crossed the Wisconsin River and had disappeared; but the pursuit was continued. The trail of Black Hawk's band was marked by the bodies of braves who had died of wounds or of disease. On July 31, 1832, the freshness of the trail indicated the immediate presence of the enemy. On August 2nd Black Hawk's band of braves was found near the mouth of the Bad Axe on the Mississippi River, about forty-five miles above Prairie du Chien.

Brigadier General Atkinson, whose forces had joined in the main pursuit at Blue Mounds on the 23rd,¹¹³ promptly arranged the order of battle. The regular troops under Colonel Zachary Taylor and Colonel Dodge's troops composed the front; the Illinois militia under Posey and Alexander formed the right; while Henry's brigade of about four hundred men composed the left. A steep bluff was descended by the advance, and the battle took place upon a grassy and heavily wooded bottom.

Here were collected Black Hawk's men, women, and children to make a final desperate stand against the whites. "Led on by Black Hawk, they came furiously upon the soldiers, by whom they were met with a most

destructive fire, driving them back again; and a third time they rallied, bringing into action every Indian supplied with means for offensive operations; but the unerring rifles of the volunteers, and the volleys from the regulars, soon thinned their ranks, and they were driven back again in disorder, and so disheartened as not to be again rallied."¹¹⁴

For three hours the battle raged while the Indians were driven from one hiding place to another. "The whole of the troops", ran Atkinson's report of the next day, as written by Albert Sidney Johnston, "participated in the honour of the combat; some of the corps were, however, more fortunate than others, in being thrown from their position in order of battle, more immediately in conflict with the enemy. These were Henry's brigade, Dodge's battalion, the regular troops, Leach's [Samuel Leech] regiment of Posey's brigade and the Spy battalion of Alexander's brigade."¹¹⁵

Upwards of one hundred and fifty of the Indians were slain, while the whites suffered a loss of twenty-nine killed and wounded. The loss to Dodge's battalion was six wounded of whom three died of their injuries. This bloody encounter, known as the Battle of

Bad Axe, terminated the war and led to the capture of Black Hawk.¹¹⁶

After the battle Colonel Dodge with his command proceeded to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien where Atkinson ran out to meet him, threw his arms around him, and exclaimed: "You have led me on to victory — you have saved me!" The story runs that Old Hickory had sent warning to Atkinson that "If he did not put an end to the war in a few days, he would strike his name from the roll of the United States Army."¹¹⁷

Thus closed the last of the Indian wars of Illinois and Wisconsin, which still remains one of the most memorable in the history of the West. The loss of life to the Americans was about two hundred and fifty; while the cost in money to the General Government and to the State of Illinois was nearly two millions of dollars.¹¹⁸

Then, too, the Black Hawk War hastened and swelled the stream of migration to what is now northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. Much of these regions had up to this time been a "Dark Continent"; but the troops marching through these wilds wrote a mass of letters, reports, and news items which were descriptive of the scenery and

the natural resources. These were widely copied. Dr. Addison Philleo's war news appeared first in his paper, *The Galenian*, and from this it was copied broadcast over the State.¹¹⁹ In its advertising features, then, the Black Hawk War can well be considered as an event which helped to blaze the way to western settlement.

During this war Colonel Dodge's command, designated "Iowa County Regiment, Michigan Volunteers", was composed of eighteen different companies whose terms of service ranged variously between the dates of May 2nd and October 9, 1832.¹²⁰ Colonel Dodge contributed perseverance, courage, knowledge of Indian character, and unflagging industry to the war. In this respect he stands in marked contrast to some of the politician-soldiers who tried to extract from the war undeserved glory and unearned fame which they hoped later to parade upon the hustings. To Colonel Dodge the war unquestionably brought a well-deserved distinction, besides subsequent military and official honors; and to the people of Wisconsin the record of his services will ever remain a patriotic memorial.

VI

MAJOR OF MOUNTED RANGERS

"For the defense of the frontier", reads the congressional act of June 15, 1832, which created the battalion of Mounted Rangers.¹²¹

A commission bearing the bold signature of Andrew Jackson had, on June 22, 1832, created Henry Dodge the Major of this force of six companies. For about one year this battalion ranged the frontier, and its operations furnish another chapter to the military record of the victor of the battle of Horse Shoe Bend.

The necessity for such a force of "Rough Riders" had been strongly urged in Congress; petitions and memorials had come from the frontier; recent distress and bloodshed from Indian outbreaks were still fresh in the public mind; private citizens had left their business and their families to defend their homes; infantry could not cope with the mounted troops; and the presence of such a force would serve as a preventive

of further outbreaks. Finally, the cost of the force would be more than compensated for when Indian dangers and hostilities would be prevented, crops saved, and the expenses of calling out the militia would be unnecessary.

The "frontier" then comprised a vast area in the Mississippi Valley. The military posts were few, small, and too widely separated to offer protection and defense. At the Portage in Michigan Territory was Fort Winnebago, containing a garrison of about one hundred and fifty men commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Cutler. Fort Dearborn was garrisoned by about one hundred men under Major Whistler. On the Upper Mississippi it appears that Fort Snelling held a garrison of one hundred and forty-two; Fort Crawford had a force of one hundred and ninety-four men under Zachary Taylor; and about sixty troops were at Fort Armstrong. In the far southwest Colonel Arbuckle held a force of about five hundred men at Fort Gibson in Arkansas Territory; and about one hundred and fifty men under Major Riley held Fort Leavenworth.¹²²

A total expense of \$297,530.50 was considered necessary to maintain this force of

about six hundred and sixty Mounted Rangers for one year. Major Dodge's pay and emoluments were to be \$1456 per annum; each Captain was to receive \$1255 per annum; a total of \$219,000 was estimated for the privates; while the subsistence for one year at twelve and one-half cents per ration for the non-commissioned officers and privates made another figure of \$30,112.50.¹²³

Five companies were immediately organized, but the organization of the sixth was delayed until later in the summer. A Rangers' camp was established a few miles below Rock Island, near the mouth of the Rock River. The cholera, which had been raging for some time in various sections of the country, suddenly made its appearance in the Rangers' camp. On August 28th a Ranger of Captain Lemuel Ford's company died of the disease. Like many of the soldiers the dead Ranger was given to intoxication, and Major General Winfield Scott sternly denounced intemperance which he declared generated and spread the epidemic.

"Every soldier or Ranger," commanded Major General Scott, "who shall be found *drunk* or sensibly intoxicated, after the publication of this order, [shall] be compelled,

as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying place, large enough for his own reception, as such grave cannot fail soon to be wanted for the drunken man himself, or some drunken companion.”¹²⁴ Several weeks passed before the disease passed over. Thirteen unlucky Rangers had fallen victims to the plague and without coffins lay buried on the banks of Rock River.¹²⁵

On September 3, 1832, an order was issued for the disposition of the Rangers on the frontier. The companies of Captains James D. Henry, Benjamin V. Beekes, and Jesse B. Browne were assigned to the northwestern frontier between the Wabash, Chicago, Fort Winnebago, and the mouth of the Wisconsin River. They were to range under the immediate instructions of Major Dodge and through him were to report to the eastern division of the military department. He was further instructed to go to such places where grain could be procured for the Rangers' horses.

The other three companies were to serve under the western division of the army. Under Major Dodge's instructions the companies of Captains Nathan Boone and Lem-

uel Ford were ordered to Fort Gibson on the Arkansas River, to range on the southwestern frontier. Captain Jesse Bean's company had already received orders from Washington to repair to Fort Gibson.¹²⁶

Two Indian treaties were witnessed by Major Dodge in September, 1832. The first, held on the present site of Rock Island on the 15th, was made by General Scott and Governor John Reynolds. Thirty-nine Indians and twenty-nine whites, among whom was Major Dodge, signed this treaty whereby the Winnebago nation ceded to the United States the land lying to the south and east of the Wisconsin River and the Fox River of Green Bay.¹²⁷

Still more notable was the treaty signed six days later on the present site of Davenport.¹²⁸ This was the famous "Black Hawk Purchase" treaty. Little did Major Dodge realize the transcendent importance of this treaty when he signed it as a witness. A strip along the west side of the Mississippi River, containing about 6,000,000 acres, was to be opened to settlement on June 1, 1833. No one dreamed that in four years this area would contain an enterprising population demanding civil government and laws which

Henry Dodge was to be the foremost to inaugurate.

Major Dodge's order No. 9, of September 23, 1832,¹²⁹ instructed Captain Browne to take his company into winter quarters near Danville, Illinois. Corn, forage, and fuel were to be secured; but private rights of citizens were not to be invaded. "Gambling and Drinking to intoxication is prohibited", reads the order. "The Capt. commanding will order Court Martials for the trial of those found intoxicated, and punish them without delay as well as to prevent Gambling in his Camp." Monthly reports as to the strength, condition, the arms, the ammunition, and the provisions of the company were to be sent by Captain Browne to Major Dodge at Mineral Point in Michigan Territory. On the same day Major Dodge gave instructions to Captains Boone and Ford to go by the nearest practicable route to Fort Gibson.

Governor John Reynolds in October, 1832, informed Major Dodge that the Pottawattamie Indians had assumed an imposing and threatening attitude on the Illinois frontier. From Vandalia, Illinois, Major Dodge then ordered Captain Browne

to range the northern frontier. "You will order the Pottawattamies out of the settlements of the whites and drive them out of the range of the settlements, if they refuse to go. . . . You are not to make an attack on the Pottawattamies unless they should make an attack on the Frontiers should they however shed a Drop of white Blood you will not hesitate to kill the offenders their aiders and abettors".¹³⁰

Winter had now come on and the routine of camp duties took the place of marches on the frontier. Captain Matthew Duncan had succeeded Captain Henry, and in March he was ordered to escort some caravans bound for Santa Fé and to guard them against the attacks of hostile Indians. This left but two companies upon the northwestern frontier.¹³¹

Vague rumors of threatened attacks by the Pottawattamies and Winnebagoes began to alarm the frontier settlers of Illinois again in the spring of 1833. Major Dodge was prompt in his efforts to quiet the public mind, and on April 3rd he sent orders to Captains Browne and Beekes to march to Hennepin on the Illinois River and to hold themselves in readiness.¹³² "I will advise

the people of the mining Country, to form themselves into mounted Companies'', reported Dodge from Dixon's Ferry to Brigadier General Atkinson.¹³³ To Major General Macomb he wrote: "I consider it important to the future growth of this country that the Winnebagoes should be forced to leave the country they have ceded to the U. S., and that there should be a separation of the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattamies. Such is the dislike of the people of the frontier generally of these two nations, . . . that war must be the inevitable result unless they are all removed."¹³⁴

While directing the movements of the Rangers, Major Dodge was arranging for a meeting with the Winnebago chiefs. The conference was held on the 29th of April, 1833, at the Four Lakes. White Crow, Whirling Thunder, and other chiefs were present, and Pierre Pauquette interpreted Dodge's speech to them. Nothing definite seems to have resulted from this meeting, and in reporting it to Atkinson Dodge declared that "The Winnebagoes are the most difficult Indians to understand I have ever been acquainted with."

Major Dodge's watchful movements had

gained the approval of Major General Atkinson. On May 24, 1833, he was ordered to make a demand upon the Winnebago chief for the surrender of the eight Indian prisoners who had escaped the previous fall. They were the Indians who had murdered the ill-fated Felix St. Vrain and others at Kellogg's Grove in the previous June.¹³⁵

Pauquette, the interpreter, and John H. Kinzie, the sub-agent for the Winnebagoes, accompanied Dodge in quest of the prisoners. Leaving Dodgeville on June 9th, Major Dodge arrived at the Rangers' camp near the Four Lakes on the next day. Four days later he reached Fort Winnebago, where Kinzie arrived a day later with \$20,000 annuity money for the Winnebagoes. "I waited on Mr. Kinzie", reported Major Dodge to Atkinson, "and sent for Mr. Pauquette the Interpreter and had a Confidential Conference with them on the subject of the removal of the Winnebagoes . . . as well as the necessity of a prompt delivery of the Eight Murderers who made their escape from Fort Winnebago Last fall and that a refusal on the part of the indians to remove from the Ceded Lands would oblige me to march with the Mounted

Rangers to drive them across the Wisconsin River and that it might be necessary for me to call on the Government for aid should it become necessary to do so the chiefs would be in Danger of being taken and held as Hostages untill the murderers were delivered up, to be dealt with according to the Laws of the Country".¹³⁶

A stern "talk" was soon afterwards delivered to the Winnebago chiefs by Major Dodge who reminded them of the ninth article of the treaty made at Rock Island on September 15, 1832. Under this stipulation they had agreed to deliver up the eight fugitives to some military post. "I now distinctly give you to understand", the chiefs were warned, "that if you fail to adopt measures for the Apprehension of the Fugitives that it will lead to a Stoppage of your annuities by the Government and that your Chiefs are liable [to] arrest and detention untill the delivery of the murderers."¹³⁷

The surrender of the murderers, assured Dodge, would be viewed by the President as a proof of friendly disposition, and then "the bright Chain of Friendship will remain entire & unbroken between us". The

“talk” then concluded with this dire warning: “Should you fail to deliver these murderers your road will be filled with thorns & the Sun will be covered with a Dark Cloud, which will rest over your Nation untill the Blood of the Innocent is Avenged”.

These admonitions bore fruit and the eight murderers were delivered to Sub-Agent Kinzie and lodged in the guard-house at Fort Winnebago. This was followed by the exodus of the Winnebagoes from the Rock River country across the Wisconsin River to the north. Lieutenant Joshua W. Fry with fifty men had assisted at the removal of Whirling Thunder and his braves who could now again hunt and fish without molestation from jealous settlers and the watchful companies under Major Dodge.

The terms of enlistment of many of the Rangers were expiring. On July 7, 1833, forty-two men of Captain Beekes's company presented themselves before their Captain and demanded their discharge. They insisted that their term expired a year from the time of their enlistment — not a year from the date on which they were

mustered in. They then stacked their arms in front of the Captain's tent, mounted their horses, and started for Indiana. To Captain Beekes a furlough of sixty days was granted by Major Dodge.¹³⁸

To Captain Jesse B. Browne, Major Dodge gave orders to discharge the Rangers whose term of service had expired; the public arms and property of the two companies were to be delivered to I. B. Brant, the Quartermaster at St. Louis; and Captain Browne was then to repair to Danville to await further orders. Major Dodge's final order is dated August 7, 1833.¹³⁹ A small detachment under Lieutenant James Clyman was left to range between Dodgeville and the Four Lakes and to observe the movements of the Winnebagoes.

Thus ended the history of Major Dodge's Mounted Rangers. No battle had been fought and no blood had been shed; no acts of heroism are recorded; and the reports of rifles were heard only on the drill ground. But the battalion of Mounted Rangers certainly insured the peace of the northwestern frontiers which had seen and felt the terror of Indian outbreaks. Then, too, with the moral influence of a movable force Major

Dodge was able to perform the duties of adviser and friend among a people who with each generation had to look less at a rising and more to a setting sun.

VII

COLONEL OF THE FIRST REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS

NEARLY three years of military life and exploration in the far West now lay before Henry Dodge — years which were to bring to a close his long service in the profession of arms. As early as March 2, 1833, President Jackson had approved an act “for the more perfect defense of the frontier”¹⁴⁰ whereby was created the first regiment of Dragoons in the army history of the United States. It was but another recognition of Henry Dodge’s military services when two days later the President appointed him Colonel of this force which was to consist of seven hundred and forty-eight officers and men.

As early as the previous December the proposition of the Secretary of War to convert the Mounted Rangers into a regiment of Dragoons had been urged in Congress: the cost would be less than for the Rangers

by \$153,932 a year; the Dragoons would be equal in celerity of movement; their service on horse and on foot would require training in the use of both the rifle and the sword; and finally, the addition of such a force would make much more complete the military arm of the government.¹⁴¹

Jefferson Barracks, a post ten miles below St. Louis, was selected as the headquarters for the regiment. Early in March, 1833, orders for the enlistment of the corps were issued, and Colonel Dodge divided his time between commanding the Rangers on the Illinois frontier and in assisting in the organization of the Dragoons. During the spring and summer of 1833 his military orders were generally issued over the title of "Col. U. S. Dragoons Commanding U. S. Rangers".

"I wish the Regiment to be efficient and useful to the country", wrote Colonel Dodge to the Adjutant General. "And by taking a part of the officers from the Regular Army who understand the first principles of their profession and uniting them with the Ranger officers who understand the woods service would promote the good of the service. The sooner the determination of the Hon

Secretary of War on this subject the better for the good of the service permit me to Call the attention of the Genl in Chief to the absolute necessity of ordering the Cloathing and Arms intended for the use of the U. S. Dragoons there are four Companies at this post and Capt Sumner is Daily expected with an additional Company The recruits are all here much in want of their Cloathing and it is important we should have our arms it is expected that the Dragoons should be drilled at Target Shooting, as well as to fire with precision on horseback.”¹⁴²

Stephen W. Kearney, the Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, was appointed to superintend the recruiting of the regiment, with the order “to recruit healthy, respectable men, native citizens, not under twenty, nor over thirty-five years of age, whose size, figure and early pursuits may best qualify them for mounted soldiers.”¹⁴³

Ten companies of seventy-one men each were to be enlisted, and early in May troops began to arrive at Jefferson Barracks. Nearly every State in the Union was represented in the regiment. The last company under Captain Edwin V. Sumner arrived

from New York on September 6, 1833. Among the regular army officers were Major Richard B. Mason, Captain David Hunter, and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke. Among the several West Point graduates who had enlisted was Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, then a young man of twenty-five. Five of the Ranger captains had reënlisted in the Dragoons during the summer. Company E under Captain David Perkins had been recruited from the young men of New York City.

“Col. Dodge”, writes a Dragoon of Captain Sumner’s company, “is in command of the regiment, a man about say fifty, thick set, somewhat gray, a thorough backwoodsman, very fond of talking over his own exploits; he was, I believe, a militia general, and obtained the colonelcy of this regiment on account of his late exertions during the Black Hawk war on the whole a clever man, but not much of a soldier.”¹⁴⁴

A fine body of men were now assembled; but in the first drill not a few looked like recruits from the regiment of Jack Falstaff. Military uniforms had not yet arrived, and many of the soldiers with but one suit of clothes presented a threadbare appearance.

The rawest troops furnished a ludicrous scene for the men who had already been given a few weeks' maneuvers on the drill ground. The "awkward squad" did daily duty, and in Captain Sumner's company Sergeant Roberts was the only man who knew how to put his left foot foremost. A sufficient number of arms was also lacking, and it had been necessary to disinter old muskets that had lain in the arsenal since the war with Great Britain.

The barracks, forming a hollow square, were built of hewn stone and stood on a high bluff overlooking the Mississippi River. Colonel Dodge and the other officers were quartered in two-story structures, while surrounding the drill ground were the one-story buildings for the soldiers. Upon the handsome parade ground were held the daily evolutions during the fall of 1833, under the directions of Major Mason.

But murmurings and dissatisfaction rose in the months of September and October. Barrack rooms were without bunks, and even the kitchen implements had been bought with soldiers' money. Arrogant treatment from the officers stirred up additional complaints. Said a Dragoon: "Op-

pression every day growing more and more insupportable, the dragoons began openly to murmur, and the guard-house was kept continually filled to overflowing. Courts-martial were in continual session; and for the most trifling neglect of duty, men were tried and sentenced either to walk the tow-path all day with a bag of shot on their shoulders, or to confinement in the guard-room.”¹⁴⁵

Desertions were almost nightly occurrences, and privates, corporals, and sergeants discharged themselves from the hardships and restraints of the barracks. In one case a recaptured soldier was given fifty lashes on his back with a cat-o’-nine-tails and was then sentenced to serve out his term of enlistment between the dreary walls of the guard-house.

Other annoyances presented themselves. The contracts for the erection of the stables had not been fulfilled and so the troops were put upon the job. Each morning after drill a squad was formed and armed with saws, hammers, shovels, and pickaxes. This kindled new dissatisfaction, and whisperings of “speculation” and “profits” passed current among the soldiery. Indeed, a

Dragoon records that "some of our men have signified their disrelish of the work by *not remaining to see it finished.*"¹⁴⁶

Early in October the Dragoon horses arrived — a collection of blacks, greys, creams, and bays. Week after week they were put through drills and evolutions until they became quite familiar with military usages. On November 9, 1833, the first battalion parade of the mounted Dragoons was held about a hundred rods to the rear of the barracks. Major Mason was in command, and on Sunday (the next day) they were reviewed by the Inspector General who pronounced men, horses, and equipments in excellent order.¹⁴⁷

About six hundred Dragoons had now been enlisted, and for months they had passed through the routine and regulations of military life at the barracks. But in November, 1833, in response to Colonel Dodge's recommendation, an order was issued to march five companies to Fort Gibson. Early on the 20th of November the baggage-wagons were loaded with supplies, the bugle sounded, the companies formed, and Colonel Dodge for the first time assumed command and gave the orders to

march. "The prisoners," tells the historian of this march, "consisting of eighteen men under sentence for desertion, and other capital offenses, were made to walk handcuffed and chained, some with a cannon ball to the leg, flanked on either side by the rear guard. And thus commenced the Regiment of Dragoons their first march."¹⁴⁸

Not more than three or four miles were made in the first day's march. In the next two days a distance of forty-three miles was covered. Mountains, valleys, forests, and prairies were traversed in turn.¹⁴⁹ Rivers and creeks were forded. On the twentieth day Colonel Dodge's force crossed the boundary line between the State of Missouri and Arkansas Territory. On December 17, 1833, the regiment of Dragoons arrived at Fort Gibson in what is now Muskogee County in Oklahoma.

"On my arrival at this place", reported Colonel Dodge on Christmas day, 1833, "I found no arrangements had been previously made for furnishing the Dragoons under my command with Rations or Corn for the Horses on Consulting Col Arbuckle the Commg Officer of this post I thought it advisable to remain in the immediate vi-

cinity of this post Col Arbuckle has made a purchase of Eight Thousand Bushels of Corn the cane is abundant the Dragoon Horses are in good order They will be well prepared for Service early in the Spring I am preparing my Quarters for the winter which will be Completed in a few days after their Completion I will have the Dragoons Drilled both on foot & Horseback and feel Confident they will be prepared for any Service required of them early in the Spring.’’¹⁵⁰

The first week in January, 1834, was bitterly cold. Under a temperature of twelve degrees below zero six inches of ice froze on the Grand River. Navigation was stopped and no corn was delivered. Colonel Dodge was finally obliged to place the horses in the cane-brake where they could feed. But there a stampede occurred and the animals scattered in various sections throughout the country. An officer and a party of men were sent after the strayed animals, and it was with much difficulty that they were finally recovered.¹⁵¹ Early in February Captain Sumner was sent to Washington County, Arkansas Territory, to purchase forage and corn for the Dragoon horses.¹⁵²

Camp Jackson, the permanent quarters for the regiment, was laid out in a little strip of woods one and a quarter miles west of Fort Gibson. Barrack rooms of oak shingles were constructed, the apertures in the roof of which admitted freely both sun and rain. Here the long winter evenings were spent. Between retreat and tattoo sounds of revelry and glee could have been heard. Creeks, Osages, and Cherokees would sometimes join the soldiers in dances to the tunes of two or three cracked fiddles, which were the favorite instruments of the Tennesseans. In another corner might be seen a card party seated around a tallow candle. Removed from the groups of amusement another Dragoon might have been seen reading *Robinson Crusoe* or the *Life of General Marion* from the regimental library.¹⁵³

Colonel Dodge was now expecting orders to proceed with the regiment through the extensive Indian region between the western boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas and the Rocky Mountains. On February 15, 1834, he presented his views on the contemplated expedition to Adjutant General R. Jones.¹⁵⁴ Guides and interpreters should be

secured. "Twenty Osages should be procured to accompany the expedition as Buffalo Hunters to enable me to subsist my Command until the Dragoons Learn to shoot Buffaloes There are few men in this Command who ever saw a Buffalo and would be entirely unable to subsist themselves By Hunting".

Fort Leavenworth, he suggested, should be made the headquarters of the regiment. "This military post presents many advantages[.] Steam Boats could Early in the Spring transport the necessary supplies to this place[.] Forage Can be procured cheap on the Frontier of the State of Missouri and protection would be afforded the Frontier inhabitants of this State and this would be the proper point to furnish the necessary Escort for the protection of our trade to the Mexican States".

Colonel Dodge also recommended that the Regiment of Dragoons be divided into three parts. Three companies with the reserve infantry at Fort Gibson would be sufficient for the protection of the far western frontier. Two other divisions could be located at convenient points on the Mississippi River to make a display of force, to prevent

the Indians from intruding upon the whites, and to prevent encroachments of the settlers upon Indian lands and trade. Furthermore, such a force would aid greatly in maintaining peace between the powerful Sioux and Chippewas.

Brigadier General Henry Leavenworth, who had assumed command of the left wing of the western department of the army, arrived at Camp Jackson in the spring of 1834. Colonel Dodge was ordered to send an officer to learn whether or not a company of traders going from Missouri to Santa Fé needed an escort. "Col. Dodge will also make an estimate of every thing that will be required by his corps to prepare them for their contemplated movement, and send it to the office of the acting assistant adjutant-general of this command as soon as possible."¹⁵⁵ The duty of acting as an escort fell to Captain Clifton Wharton's company, which left Camp Jackson in May and accompanied the traders to Santa Fé.¹⁵⁶

To maintain peace, quiet, and order in the army was not the least of the tasks of Colonel Dodge. "I find more treachery and deception practiced in the army than I ever expected to find with a Body of Men who

Call themselves Gentlemen", he writes to a friend. "My Situation is unpleasant [Jefferson] *Davis* who I appointed my adjt was among the first to take a stand against me Major Mason and Davis are now two of my most inveterate enemies the desire of these Gentlemen appears to be to Harass me in Small Matters they dont want to fight if Mason would say fight I would go to the field with him with Great pleasure and indeed unless Harmony and good feeling exists in a Corps the public Service cannot be promoted and to undertake an Expedition with such men I should run the risk of Losing what Little reputation I have acquired".¹⁵⁷

Meanwhile the companies from Jefferson Barracks had been marching to Fort Gibson and their arrivals at Camp Jackson were hailed with welcome and joy. Preparations for the summer campaign were in full sway. "Our camp is now," describes the Dragoon historian, "throughout the day, a constant scene of bustle and noise, the blacksmith shops are kept in continual operation, tailors and saddlers find constant employment, and in fact no one has time to be idle; one half the regiment are daily detailed to watch the horses whilst grazing upon the

prairies, which is now the most severe duty to be performed, standing during the whole of the day exposed to the heat of a broiling sun, which during the last week has raised the mercury to from 103° to 107° in the thermometer.”¹⁵⁸

VIII

THE EXPEDITION TO THE PAWNEE PICT VILLAGE¹⁵⁹

“FORWARD, march!” Responding to this command on June 15, 1834, nine companies of about five hundred men began their summer campaign. It was an imposing cavalcade: the tramp of the horses on the prairie mingled with the commands of the officers; the proud and manly deportment of the young men indicated the buoyant hope and spirit of the army; a company of white horses made a striking contrast to another one of blacks; while sorrels and bays gave added effects of color. To the rear of the companies might have been seen and heard the lumbering movements of the baggage-wagons.

About two hundred and fifty miles to the west of Fort Gibson lay the Pawnee Pict and the Camanche villages — somewhere on the head-waters of the Red River. These were the ultimate destination of Colonel Dodge

and the Dragoons. The purpose of the campaign was to cultivate an acquaintance with the Camanches and the Pawnees — two extensive roaming tribes that had not yet recognized the United States in any treaties. It was deemed indispensable to the peace and security of the far western frontier to display a respectable force in that quarter. The Dragoons, it was believed, would impress upon the tribes the power of the United States and excite a deeper respect for the government.¹⁶⁰

Four bands of Indians — the Senecas, Osages, Cherokees, and Delawares — joined the expedition to serve as hunters, guides, and interpreters. Two young girls, a Kiowa of about fifteen years and a Pawnee of about eighteen years, were taken with the Dragoons to be restored to their tribes. This policy it was believed would pave the way for friendly intercourse.¹⁶¹ George Catlin, the famous portrait painter of Indians, had been given permission to accompany the expedition in its visit to the wild tribes along the Arkansas and the Red Rivers. "I start this morning with the dragoons for the Pawnee country", he writes on June 19th, "but God only knows where that is."¹⁶²

Long forced marches were made during the warm, sultry June days. Springs and streams provided a bountiful supply of water and the prairies furnished pasturage for the Dragoon horses. On the 26th of June they passed a band of five hundred or six hundred Osages under the command of "Black Dog", a famous warrior of that nation. On the next day a herd of buffalo was met and General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge tested the mettle and speed of their horses. Signs of the Pawnees became more abundant. On July 1st forty-five men and three officers were reported sick from the excessive heat, and each day the command pushed on with depleted ranks.

On July 4th the Dragoons were ferried across the Washita River. "Our baggage", relates a Dragoon of Captain Browne's company, "we transported by means of a raft constructed by canoes lashed together and covered with planks. We also used a canvass Boat covered with gum Elastick belonging to Col Kearney which we found to answer an excellent purpose. Having encamped on the opposite side with our whole force & concluding it best to travel with as

little encumbrance as possible, Col Dodge selected about 250 men & horses most able for duty & taking only 10 days provisions for 20 days sustenance, set forward on a forced march.”¹⁶³

About one hundred and eighty miles had now been marched by the Dragoons, when early in July a reorganization of the regiment became necessary. Six companies of forty-two men each were to continue the campaign with Colonel Dodge in command. One hundred and nine were left for duty at Camp Leavenworth, together with eighty-six sick. Baggage-wagons were abandoned; each man was furnished with ten days' rations and eighty rounds of cartridges; and the march once more began.

Day after day through the month of July the command continued its march over the rolling prairies. Now and then a stray band of Indians would be observed. Wild horses in large herds passed; and enormous herds of buffalo moved across the plains. Men and beasts were prostrated by heat and the strenuous campaign, while the low state of the provisions brought anxiety to Colonel Dodge. On July 14th a roving band of about forty Camanches entered the camp to

beg tobacco and to talk with the Dragoon Colonel. From these Indians Colonel Dodge learned that the Camanches, Kiowas, and the Pawnee Piets (or Toyash) were friends and to some degree allies. "The Camanches are, we learn," runs the journal of this expedition, "the largest band, the proudest and boldest; therefore the colonel has resolved to visit them first; thence to the Toyash village, establish friendly understandings with one or both, or war with one or both, as may be; officers and men on the alert, as if in the atmosphere of war."¹⁶⁴

Colonel Dodge now pushed on and soon arrived at a Camanche camp of about two hundred skin lodges. About a hundred mounted Camanches, seemingly not a little alarmed, came to welcome the Dragoons. Thousands of horses were grazing about the Indian camp, and several of the officers purchased animals for a blanket or a butcher knife. Colonel Dodge waited for the Camanche chief, then absent on a hunting trip; but after more than a day's fruitless waiting the regiment moved on in the direction of the Toyash village. An Indian who had been at the Toyash camp promised Colonel Dodge to guide him thither.

By July 19th the command had been reduced to one hundred and eighty-three men. Seventy-five, over one-half of whom were sick, had been left behind. Desertions had also reduced the band. For a month the soldiers had been without a morsel of bread, and their appetites had become too voracious to distinguish between horse flesh and buffalo meat. The mirage of a waterfall glistening in the sunlight was discovered to be a mass of salt. "No buffalo", records Lieutenant Wheelock's journal. "Our unshod horses suffered very much to-day; wild horses in abundance, and bears; many deer were seen; a few were killed; scanty allowance of provisions for our men; we march too fast to be able to hunt much on the road; game is now divided among the command with great care; marched in three columns; baggage reduced to three pack horses to each company."

Across reddish granite hills, deep ravines, and difficult passes Colonel Dodge continued the toilsome and intricate route. On July 20, 1834, they were within five miles of the Toyash village situated on a branch of the Red River. The non-appearance of the band convinced the Dragoons that the

Indians had either fled or that they had determined to make a stand and fight. Bayonets were fixed and every preparation for a conflict was made. On the next day the command proceeded a mile when they were met by about sixty Indians, who seemed greatly alarmed and begged Colonel Dodge not to fire upon them. After several miles of marching along extensive and well cultivated fields of squashes, pumpkins, beans, melons, and corn, the Dragoons reached the village.

Here then was the Toyash or Pawnee Pict village, the main goal of this expedition, and the object which had been the stimulus during five long weeks of marching. The village, consisting of about two hundred grass lodges, was situated in a rich bottom embedded in the immense ledges of rocks and mountains. Colonel Dodge encamped in a fine position about a mile from the village, and the hungry Dragoons were soon enjoying the Indian hospitalities. Dishes of corn and beans dressed with buffalo fat were placed before them. For dessert the soldiers enjoyed liberal supplies of water-melons and wild plums; while the savages gladly exchanged green corn, dried horse

meat, and buffalo meat for vermilion, articles of clothing, knives, and tobacco.¹⁶⁵

According to the previous arrangements of Colonel Dodge a grand council was held between the American officers and the chiefs and warriors of the Toyash nation. Bands of Camanches mounted upon their fleet horses had arrived; Pawnee Picts and Wecos were present in large numbers; while the tall, erect, and dignified forms of the Kiowas represented the higher type of the Indians. It was a scene that well stimulated the pen and the brush of George Catlin.

“We are the first American officers who have ever come to see the Pawnees”, began Dodge at the first council on July 22nd. “We meet you as friends, not as enemies, to make peace with you, to shake hands with you. The great American captain is at peace with all the white men in the world; he wishes to be at peace with all the red men of the world; we have been sent here to view this country, and to invite you to go to Washington, where the great American chief lives, to make a treaty with him, that you may learn how he wishes to send among you traders, who will bring you guns and blankets, and everything that you want.”

Colonel Dodge then referred to the murder of Judge Martin, which some Indians had committed on the False Washita earlier in the summer. The Colonel informed them also that he had learned from the Camanches that the little son of Judge Martin was being held as a prisoner. "Give us the white boy, and we will give you the Pawnee girl that we have brought with us." Denials from the chiefs and repeated demands from Colonel Dodge were then followed by a gloomy silence. The accidental discharge of a pistol came like a thunderbolt and almost stirred the already over-strained feelings in the council to the war point.

Finally a negro offered Colonel Dodge the information that the Indians were now holding the young boy as a prisoner in the village. The Colonel then became still more stern and persistent, declaring that the council would stop until the boy was surrendered. Further consultation followed among the Indians, who finally sent for the young prisoner who had been secreted in a corn-field by the savages. The friend of George Catlin has given a graphic description of the entrance of the child into this strange council.

“He is a smart and very intelligent boy of nine years of age, and when he came in, he was entirely naked, as they keep their own boys at that age. There was a great excitement in the council when the little fellow was brought in; and as he passed amongst them, he looked around and exclaimed, with some surprise, ‘What! are there white men here?’ to which Colonel Dodge replied, and asked his name; and he promptly answered, ‘my name is Matthew Wright Martin.’ He was then received into Colonel Dodge’s arms; and an order was immediately given for the Pawnee and Kiowa girls to be brought forward; they were in a few minutes brought into the council-house, when they were at once recognized by their friends and relatives, who embraced them with the most extravagant expressions of joy and satisfaction. The heart of the venerable old chief was melted at this evidence of white man’s friendship, and he rose upon his feet, and taking Colonel Dodge in his arms, and placing his left cheek against the left cheek of the Colonel, held him for some minutes without saying a word, whilst tears were flowing from his eyes. He then embraced each officer in turn, in the same silent

and affectionate manner; which form took half an hour or more, before it was completed.”¹⁶⁶

Negotiations with the Indians now became easier and Colonel Dodge explained to them that the great American President desired to make a treaty with them all and to exchange prisoners. “Peace cannot be made with all the tribes till a large white paper be written and signed by the President and the hands of the chiefs. Will your chiefs go with me now to see the American President?” They were also assured that the President would be very happy to see them and would make them presents of handsome guns, coats, etc. But objections and murmurings from the Indians now ensued, and Colonel Dodge concluded to close the council and to wait for the morrow.

We-ter-ra-shah-ro, an old chief of seventy years, with two other principal men met Colonel Dodge at his tent the next morning for a further “talk”. The four leaders of the bands that had accompanied the Dragoons from Fort Gibson were also present and participated in the council. Colonel Dodge once more urged that a few of the chiefs accompany him back to Fort Gibson:

it was a plea for peace from a man who had grown gray in Indian warfare. Following further deliberations and consultations the old Chief We-ter-ra-shah-ro was the first to announce some willingness to go. "We wish much to make peace", he said "with the Osages; we have been long at war with them; we wish to see the lands of the Creeks and Cherokees also, to shake hands with all." Then spoke Dutch, the Cherokee, a man of remarkable personal beauty, daring character, and reputation for his successful enterprises against the Osages. He assured Colonel Dodge that the Cherokees and the whites were friends and that they could visit each other without fear.

Beatte, the leader of the Osage band, then made a speech. He was a Frenchman who had spent his life among the Osages and was widely known as a skilled hunter. "We look at our friend (Colonel Dodge) as our father", he said. "He is a true father to us all." He ended by urging that the chiefs visit the Osages with "our father as he wishes." Monpisha, another Osage, indorsed Beatte's speech, declaring that the Indians should be taught to build homes and to raise cattle. "Your buffalo will be gone in a few

years", he warned. "Your great father, the President, will give you cattle, and teach you how to live without buffalo."

George Bullett, the Delaware, then gave assurance of the friendship of his people, after which Colonel Dodge resumed his speech. He expressed his regret that some of the Dragoon horses had broken into some of the cornfields, and he promised to pay for the damage done. "I wish you now to consider if some of you will go with me", he said to the chiefs on their departure. The chiefs then signified their intention of going to their lodges to select some braves who should accompany Colonel Dodge to Fort Gibson.

Many Camanches arrived during the day and visited the tent of Colonel Dodge, who then repeated his "talk" given in the morning. Ta-we-que-nah, one of the three newly arrived chiefs, was warm in his professions of friendship, and offered to exchange a Spanish girl for the young Kiowa girl whom the Dragoons had brought with them. But Colonel Dodge wished to secure the friendship of the Kiowas and said to the chief: "I mean to give her to her relations and friends without price; I will give the girl to her

tribe; they shall see how much their friends we are."

But here occurred a dramatic interruption. Twenty or thirty mounted Kiowas dashed into the camp and almost into Colonel Dodge's tent. These believed that the whites were in league with the hated Osages in holding the Kiowa girl as a prisoner. They were admirably equipped for flight or fight, and with their bows strung and their quivers filled with arrows they presented a bold and warlike appearance. The Dragoons looked to their own arms, the squaws and children fled in terror, and a battle seemed in prospect. Colonel Dodge, however, quickly relieved the strain, addressing them with assurances of friendship and with the intimation that the Kiowa girl should be restored to her father and friends. A general council between the Camanche, Toyash, and Kiowa nations was to be held the next day.

Not less than two thousand mounted and armed warriors surrounded the council where Colonel Dodge and his officers once more met the head men and chiefs of the various tribes. The Kiowas embraced Colonel Dodge, and savage hearts were moved to emotions of gratitude over the

restoration of their relative. The squaws with tearful eyes embraced the girl seated among the chiefs, at the same time showering their blessings upon her deliverer.

The council began and the pipe of peace was passed. There was seated a group of American officers in their bright uniforms and swords; the savage Toyash looked at the arrogant and jealous Camanche; while the more chivalric and daring Kiowa made the fourth group of the council. Here bonds of friendship were pledged and promises of peace were made. Another band of sixty Kiowas now arrived, and when the ceremonies of their reception were ended Colonel Dodge made the formal surrender of the Kiowa girl. "Kiowa chiefs!", he said, "I herewith present to you your relation; receive her as the best evidence of the sincere friendship of the Americans." This closed the council at the Pawnee Pict village.

On the next day the Dragoons were to begin their return march; and early in the morning the chiefs of the three tribes visited Colonel Dodge who presented them with guns and pistols. Fifteen Kiowas, including their chief, one Camanche, three Pawnee chiefs, and We-ter-ra-shah-ro, the

old Wacoah chief, had finally consented to return with Colonel Dodge to Fort Gibson. Thus on July 25th, was begun the return march from the Pawnee Pict village.

Over one hundred miles were marched in the first week of the return journey. "We are eagerly pursuing our way home", writes the journalist of Company I, "with our Indian Ambassadors who seem remarkably jovial & delighted with everything they see[.] Nightly they amuse us with their wild unintelligible & unaccountable songs which are far from being displeasing as they all join in seemingly endeavoring to exceed each other in noise, altogether creating a compound of the most unearthly discord".¹⁶⁷

The overpowering heat and the number of sick greatly retarded the speed of Colonel Dodge's Dragoons. By July 29th they had reached the buffalo range, and one or two deer were killed and one man killed a panther.¹⁶⁸ "At twelve o'clock the cry of buffalo was heard," records Lieutenant Wheelock on the same day, "and never was the cheering sound of land better welcomed by wearied mariners, than this by our hungry columns. The command was halted, and

some went together; the report of Beatte's rifle, and the fall of a fat cow; halted at 4 o'clock; killed two more buffaloes."

Dodge finally decided to return at once to Fort Gibson instead of marching to Fort Leavenworth. Now and then a day of rest would be ordered for the jaded horses; not unfrequently men were lost in hunting the buffalo; prairie fires broke out; and on August 5th Dodge was informed of the death of General Leavenworth and Lieutenant George W. McClure on the Washita River.¹⁶⁹ The last herd of buffalo was seen on that day, and "L", the chronicler of Company I records that "we were called upon to look our last look upon about 500 of these welcome Prairie Companions".¹⁷⁰

It was a warm and weary command that thankfully returned to Fort Gibson on August 15, 1834, after a campaign of just two months. The horses presented a jaded appearance and not more than ten were in good condition; many of the soldiers' uniforms were tattered and torn and showed evidences of strenuous service. On August 24th Colonel Kearney's command arrived, bringing its tired Dragoons, its litters of sick, and its gaunt, worn horses.¹⁷¹

Unable to get the chiefs to go to Washington, Colonel Dodge arranged for another grand council at Fort Gibson on September 1, 1834. Seven or eight tribes assembled, and for four days the fumes of the peace-making calumet drifted about the council. Choctaws, Cherokees, Osages, Kiowas, Senecas, Pawnees, Camanches, representing extreme types of Indian savages, met in friendly conclave under the protection of Colonel Dodge who believed that he had laid the foundation of lasting friendship between these frontier tribes.¹⁷²

“Perhaps their never has been in America a campaign that operated More Severely on Men & Horses”, wrote Colonel Dodge to George W. Jones. “The Excessive Heat of the Sun exceeded any thing I ever experienced[.] I marched from Fort Gibson with 500 Men and when I reached the Pawnee Pick Village I had not more than 190 Men fit for duty they were all left behind sick or were attending on the Sick the Heat of the Weather operated Severely on the Dragoon Horses there was at least 100 Horses that was Killed or Broke down by the excessive Heat of the Weather the Men were taken with fever and I was obliged to

Carry Some of my Men in Litters for Several Hundred Miles''.¹⁷³

Thus a number of great Indian tribes were brought into a general peace and into an acquaintance with and respect for the United States government.¹⁷⁴ Besides the cost in money, much sickness and hardship had been endured and more than one hundred Dragoons had lost their lives. Warm praise was extended to Colonel Dodge by Lewis Cass, the Secretary of War;¹⁷⁵ and George Catlin was well qualified to praise when he said: "Thus was dragged through and completed this most disastrous campaign; and to Colonel Dodge and Colonel Kearney, who so indefatigably led and encouraged their men through it, too much praise cannot be awarded."¹⁷⁶

IX

THE MARCH OF THE DRAGOONS TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS ¹⁷⁷

COLONEL Dodge's eleventh and last mounted expedition was a sixteen hundred mile march through the western frontiers to the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1835. The line of march lay along the Platte and the Arkansas rivers and over the old Santa Fé trail in the region which is now embraced by the States of Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas. Besides its exploring features, the expedition held various "talks" and councils with numerous bands and tribes of Indians inhabiting these regions.

Agreeably to an order of March 9, 1835, the detachment of Dragoons under Colonel Dodge left Fort Leavenworth on the 29th of the next May. Company A with forty men was commanded by Captain Ian. P. Lupton; Company C of forty men was in charge of Captain Matthew Duncan; while the thirty-seven men of Company G were

led by Captain Lemuel Ford. Lieutenant Enoch Steen was in command of two swivels. Lieutenant G. P. Kingsbury was the journalist of the expedition; while Major Dougherty, Indian Agent, and Captain Gantt, an Indian trader, accompanied the force as interpreters and guides. The three companies were directed to take sixty days' rations of flour and ten days' rations of pork; while twenty-five beeves and two wagon-loads of flour were to be taken by the assistant commissary of subsistence.

One hundred miles were traversed in a northwesterly direction the first week. The line of march lay across the reservation of the Kickapoos and then across the Nemaha River in what is now the State of Nebraska.¹⁷⁸ Continuing, Colonel Dodge's command entered the lands of the half-breed Otoes and Omahas. On the 7th of June a large herd of elk were seen, but the hunters were not able to approach near enough to shoot them. The country was a beautiful and fertile plain, diversified with all the accidents of wood, creeks, and ravines.

Two days later the command reached the valley of the Platte River and encamped on its banks only seven or eight miles from the

Oto village. Jutan, the principal chief of this tribe, who came to meet the Dragoons, had been a bold and successful warrior. He is described by Lieutenant Kingsbury as a man "about fifty years of age, tall, well made, with a fine and intelligent cast of countenance." On the next day the village of the Otoes was reached and the Dragoons were given a joyous welcome.¹⁷⁹

Colonel Dodge (on June 11th) met the assembled chiefs and warriors at the lodge of Jutan, where a council was held. The Colonel informed the Indians that the President of the United States, "your great father" wished them to be at peace and to raise corn and cattle for the support of their families. Deploring the sale of whiskey to the Otoes, he said: "All unlicensed traders found in your country will be taken and delivered to the civil authorities, to be dealt with according to the laws of the country." After a brief reply by Jutan presents of blankets, strouding, knives, and tobacco were distributed among the warriors and chiefs.

A week was spent here awaiting the arrival of a band of Omahas, with whom also Colonel Dodge wished to hold a council.

These Indians, numbering about eighteen hundred, occupied the region between the Missouri and the Platte rivers. On the 17th of June about fifty of the principal chiefs and warriors swam the Platte River and arrived near the camp of the Dragoons. Colonel Dodge extended a welcome and then caused some provisions to be issued to them.

When the Indians were assembled Colonel Dodge repeated the "talk" which he had made to the Otoes a few days before. Big Elk, the principal chief of the Omahas, replied in a friendly vein, but declared that the presents spread before them had been the cause of creating a great deal of evil in the Indian country. He was a man of sixty years, of sound practical common sense, and with a knowledge which convinced him that the Indians needed to learn some of the arts of civilization.

The Pawnee village, in what is now Hamilton County, Nebraska, was the next objective point. For eighty miles the march continued up the Platte River over a rich, alluvial, treeless plain which appeared to be the old bed of a river. Herds of antelope and deer varied the monotony of the scene. It was ten or fifteen miles from the village

that Angry Man, the principal chief of the Grand Pawnees, met the Dragoons. He at once tried to ingratiate himself into the good graces of Colonel Dodge with whom he had a long talk.

Arriving at the Grand Pawnee village on the 21st of June, 1835, the Dragoons were met by one hundred and fifty or two hundred Indians mounted on their best horses and dressed in their gayest costumes. The Pawnees, having formed an extended line, advanced with full speed and galloped around the detachment two or three times. The chiefs then advanced to Colonel Dodge, and the pipe of peace was passed around and smoked. Angry Man then invited Colonel Dodge, with a number of the Dragoons, to a feast in his lodge. There they were seated around the fire, and in strict accordance with Indian etiquette Colonel Dodge was given the highest seat. After a meal of boiled corn was eaten the Dragoons made a brief march and encamped on the bank of the Platte.

The Pawnees at this time were divided into four tribes which lived in separate villages and had different chiefs. Angry Man was the chief of the Grand Pawnees. The chief of the Pawnee Republics was called

Blue-coat; the chief of the Pawnee Loups was Axe; while the head of the Pawnee Tapeiges was Little Chief. For years these tribes had been waging an intermittent war with the Sioux and had often returned with scalps and large numbers of horses. They occupied a rich and productive soil, well adapted to the raising of grain and to grazing. The buffalo, of which they killed large numbers, furnished their principal means of subsistence. "They are already impressed with a high opinion of the power of the United States," writes the Dragoon journalist, "and it will not be difficult for the government in a short time to exert a controlling influence over them."

Colonel Dodge now declared his intention of holding a council with the different Pawnee tribes, and runners were at once dispatched to inform the other villages of his arrival. Repairing with most of the Dragoon officers to the lodge of Angry Man, Colonel Dodge addressed the assembled chiefs and warriors. He would be glad to make peace between them and their old enemies, the Arapahos and the Cheyennes. The destructive effects of wars were pointed out, and it was urged that they devote them-

selves to the cultivation of corn. "Could you also learn to raise cattle," he suggested, "you would be able to support yourselves and families without depending upon the uncertainty of the chase."

To this advice highly rhetorical but rather friendly speeches were made in turn by the four Pawnee chiefs. "I thank you for treating these people so well", declared Angry Man. "You could not have been blamed if you had been more severe." When the council broke up presents were distributed by Major Dougherty, and the Indians appeared well pleased in obtaining new blankets, strouding, knives, and tobacco. They even informed Colonel Dodge that they would send one of their principal men with him to assist him in making peace with the Cheyennes and the Arapahos.

One hundred and twelve miles were covered in the next week. Marching up the Platte River along the south bank, the Dragoons passed the head of Grand Island on June 29, 1835. Two days later Captain Gantt set out to collect the Arickaras who were supposed to be near the forks of the Platte River. On the evening of July 4th the Dragoons saw their first herd of buffalo.

On the next day Captain Gantt returned bringing the chiefs and principal warriors of the Arickaras. "The Arickaras", writes Lieutenant Kingsbury, "are considered the wildest and most savage tribe of Indians west of the Mississippi, and have always been characterized by a want of faith in their promises, and an inveterate hostility to the whites, killing all they could meet. They are at war with most of the surrounding nations, and large numbers of them are killed every year. They formerly lived on the Missouri River, but were driven from this country by the Sioux, with whom they had long been at war. . . . There are now about two thousand two hundred of them in all, numbers of them having lately been killed by their numerous enemies."

Colonel Dodge's speech to the assembled Arickaras was full of advice and warning. The evil effects of inter-tribal wars were again pointed out; the stealing of horses was denounced; and they were reminded that several charges of murder were held against them. The friendly nature and purpose of the Dragoons' expedition was then explained and the Colonel delivered the greetings and the presents from the Presi-

dent of the United States. "He is mild in peace", warned the Dragoon Colonel, "but terrible in war. . . . You see but few mounted men with me; it was not the wish of your great father to alarm you and other remote nations of Indians with the appearance of a large army which he could have sent here with as much ease as the few warriors you see with me. The cannon you see are small in comparison with the large guns that could be sent to this country."

The chiefs replied briefly to this advice, and after extolling their past conduct expressed much friendship for the whites. One of the chiefs gave a hunting-shirt finely ornamented with beads to Colonel Dodge who then distributed the usual presents among the Indians. On July 6, 1835, the council dispersed with many expressions of thanks and gratitude from the Arickaras.

Steady marching occupied the Dragoons for the next two weeks, during which they covered over two hundred and fifty miles up the south fork of the Platte River along its southern bank. "The elements of the scene", writes the Dragoon journalist, "now were an unbounded prairie, a broad river, with innumerable herds of buffalo

grazing upon its banks, and occasionally a solitary tree standing in bold relief against a clear blue sky." On July 15th the soldiers enjoyed a bird's-eye view of the Rocky Mountains, which, being the end of the march and the goal of their hopes, were hailed with joy by the whole command.

Leaving the south fork of the Platte, whose banks the Dragoons had hugged for many hundreds of miles, the command for the remainder of the month of July changed its course to a southerly direction.¹⁸⁰ Immense herds of buffalo were seen; timber became more abundant; several kinds of wild fruit were found; and deer were numerous. On the 26th of July they crossed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Platte and the Arkansas. "The mountains were in the form of an immense fortification with turrets and rock-crowned battlements, and pine trees along the covered line relieved against a clear blue sky. The different passes between the mountains appeared to be guarded by large terraced watch-towers."

On July 30th Colonel Dodge's detachment camped upon the banks of the Arkansas River. There he learned that fifty lodges of Arapahos were encamped on the oppo-

site side of the river and that the remainder of the nation with a large number of Cheyennes were hunting buffalo only about two days' ride distant. Two days later Captain Gantt left the command for the purpose of collecting these bands together.

Sixty miles of marching up the Arkansas River brought the Dragoons to the fort of Bent and St. Vrain on the 6th of August, 1835. Here Messrs. Bent and St. Vrain carried on an extensive trade with the Indians in buffalo robes, knives, blankets, and tobacco. Two villages of Cheyennes were found near this fort. These Indians were very fond of whiskey and would sell their last possession to get a drink of it. "In arranging the good things of this world in order of rank," writes Lieutenant Kingsbury, "they say that whiskey should stand first, then tobacco, third guns, fourth horses, and fifth women."

Captain Gantt on August 10th returned to camp bringing a number of Arapahos, a few Gros Ventres and two or three Blackfeet. On the next day Colonel Dodge held a council with a number of chiefs, warriors, and principal men who represented these tribes. The views and wishes of the government

were then fully explained and once more the Dragoon Colonel advised the Indians to smoke the pipe of peace, to observe treaties, and to stop their warfare against the whites.

With the assistance of Colonel Dodge three chiefs were now selected for the three bands of Cheyennes present at the council. The Colonel then put around the neck of each of the chiefs a medal, which he assured the Cheyennes was the symbol of their new offices. Presents were next distributed according to the number of Indians in each nation; and then the council adjourned with many expressions of gratitude and good will for the Dragoons and their commander.¹⁸¹

Two days after this council the line of march was continued up the Arkansas River. On August 14, 1835, Colonel Dodge's force arrived at a Cheyenne village of about sixty skin lodges and held a council. The next morning the whole command was aroused by sharp firing about half a mile distant. "Supposing this firing to be an attack on the Cheyenne Indians", wrote Colonel Dodge, "and that this band might ask protection from me, I instantly formed the Dragoons in order of battle, until I could be informed as to the cause of the firing."

In a brief time, however, a band of about one hundred Pawnees and Arickaras arrived, explaining that they had fired their guns in order to prove their friendly disposition by approaching with empty guns. A council was then called and Colonel Dodge, the mutual friend of all three tribes, induced them to forget old scores and to become friends. The Pawnees and the Arickaras received more than a hundred horses as presents from the Cheyennes, who in turn were given fifty guns. "You will be convinced", ran the Colonel's parting advice, "that your true interest is to hold each other strong by the hand as brothers and friends, and never again to stain your hands by the blood of each other."

Although unfamiliar with the art of speech-making, the Cheyennes expressed a wish that Colonel Dodge tarry several days in order that they might hunt and bring him buffalo meat. "The good effects of the expedition," writes Lieutenant Kingsbury, "are thus becoming apparent, and it will probably have the effect to establish peace among all the different tribes between the Arkansas and the Platte. This will be of immense advantage to these Indians, as they

will thereby have an extensive country opened to them, covered with innumerable buffalo, where they can hunt in safety without the fear of being attacked”.

Long daily marches down the Arkansas were made in the next week across plains, sand hills, buffalo grass, and prickly pear.¹⁸² On the 21st of August, 1835, the detachment took the old Santa Fé trail. Arriving at the Pawnee Fork the command halted for a day in order to kill buffalo to provision them to Fort Leavenworth. The horses were made to swim the swollen stream, while the baggage was transported across in buffalo skins.

For forty or fifty miles the line of march bore down the Arkansas River. Late in August the course of march veered to the north. Forced marches were the only incidents of note during the next week. “Continued the march”, concludes Lieutenant Kingsbury’s narrative of this expedition, “Crossed the Hundred-and-ten mile creek, and entered upon the dividing ridge between the Kansas and Osage rivers; passed Round and Elm Groves, and arrived at the crossing of the Kansas, at Dunlap’s Ferry, on the 15th; crossed the river and on the 16th arrived at Fort Leavenworth.”

High praise was accorded to the whole command for the success of the expedition, which Brigadier General Edmund P. Gaines regarded as extraordinary and unprecedented. He believed that the Indian tribes had been judiciously impressed with the justice, magnanimity, humanity, and power of the government, with no loss of life except that of one Dragoon.¹⁸³ This success Gaines believed to be due to the "very great vigilance, care, and prudence, on the part of the colonel and his officers, and constant attention, obedience, and fidelity on the part of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers."

X

GOVERNOR OF THE ORIGINAL TERRITORY OF WISCONSIN 1836-1838

FIVE years of official life as Governor now lay before Henry Dodge who at this point enters upon a political career of over twenty years. These five years witness the organization of Territorial governments, the administration of law for an expanding and increasing population, the founding of towns, cities, and permanent homes, and the planting of the seeds of social and political institutions for two Commonwealths. In brief these years represent another step in the westerning movement of American settlement and State-building.

The creation of the original Territory of Wisconsin was largely the fruit of many memorials, letters, and efforts from the people of the lead region. As early as February 10, 1829, Henry Dodge had urged the separation of this region from the Territory of Michigan.¹⁸⁴ The westward increase of

population had quickened the eastward flow of petitions to Congress. But jealousy between Green Bay and the lead region about Galena over the location of the capital had prevented favorable action by Congress until April 20, 1836, when the original Territory of Wisconsin was finally established.

Colonel Dodge while with the Dragoons had been watching the prospective division of Michigan Territory with much interest. He could, indeed, flatter himself that he stood high in the estimation of President Jackson; he understood thoroughly the wants of the mining district and understood the character of the Indians upon the Mississippi better than any other man. His letters to George W. Jones express strong hopes that the governorship of the Territory likely to be created would be bestowed upon him. "The best energies of My life", he wrote late in 1835, "has been spent in the Mining Country. the great Mass of the People of that Country I believe are my friends and the gratitude I know they feel for my Humble services is More gratifying to me than any Public Station that could be Conferred on me if it is their wishes However [that] I should Be their Gov. I will

Honestly Serve them to the best of my Humble Abilities and retire from the Army”.¹⁸⁵

Three loyal friends of Colonel Dodge — Richard M. Johnson, Mr. Ashley, and George W. Jones — seconded the wishes of the people of the mining country in urging his appointment. To the President the military record of Colonel Dodge could well appeal; and so on the last day of April, 1836, the commission of Dodge as Governor of the original Territory of Wisconsin was issued.¹⁸⁶ Two months later amid the festivities of Independence Day, and in the presence of former neighbors and companions in arms, Colonel Dodge took the oath of office at Mineral Point.

A vast domain of territory was included within the boundaries of the area over which Henry Dodge was called to preside. To the east of the Mississippi River lay the present State of Wisconsin, while to the west of it lay the present State of Iowa and portions of Minnesota, and of North and South Dakota. A hardy and vigorous population numbering over twenty thousand, from nearly every State in the Union, had already braved Indian dangers and founded homes. The administration of Henry Dodge as the

first Governor extended over a period of five years and is the heritage of two Commonwealths — Iowa and Wisconsin.

By the Organic Act of the Territory general executive powers were vested in the Governor, who was appointed for three years at an annual salary of \$1500. In legislative matters he possessed the power of approving or vetoing bills passed by the Legislative Assembly. An additional salary of \$1000 was granted the Governor who was also required to execute the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory — an office for which Henry Dodge possessed unusual qualifications from his long military and treaty-making experiences with the Indian tribes.

A census ordered by Governor Dodge to be taken in July, 1836, revealed an expanding population. Four counties on the east side of the Mississippi River returned a population of 11,683; while the two counties of Dubuque and Demoine on the west side gave a population of 10,531.¹⁸⁷ On the 9th of September the Governor called for an election on October 10th for members of the Legislative Assembly and apportioned the members of the Council and House of Rep-

representatives among the six counties.¹⁸⁸ Of the thirteen members of the Council and the twenty-six Representatives, six and twelve respectively were to be chosen from the west side of the Mississippi River.

Indian affairs demanded Governor Dodge's attention in August and September of 1836. The obtainment of land cessions, the general supervision of Indian agencies, the task of maintaining peace between the whites and the Indians and among the tribes themselves were some of the duties of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Similar duties had been performed by such Superintendents as William Henry Harrison of Indiana Territory, William Clark of Missouri Territory, and in Dodge's own region by Lewis Cass of Michigan Territory.

Near Green Bay on the Fox River Governor Dodge concluded his first treaty on September 3, 1836.¹⁸⁹ More than four million acres of pine lands were ceded to the United States by the Menominee nation. This large area lay along the Wolf, the Menominee, the Fox, and the Wisconsin rivers and was obtained for about ten cents an acre payable in twenty annual installments. Thus a great forest was opened to the lum-

bering industry. Indian villages gave way to lumbering camps and sawmills. The Menominee hunters with their guns and tomahawks were followed by lumbermen with axes. Ox teams began to follow Indian trails; while the sound of Indian war-whoops became drowned in the hum of sawmills and the sound of American axes.

Another treaty was negotiated by Governor Dodge with the Sac and Fox tribes at Davenport on the twenty-seventh of the same month. Twenty-four chiefs, braves, and principal men of the Sac and Fox tribes signed this treaty whereby they relinquished all claim to the lands lying between the western boundary of the State of Missouri and the Missouri River. The youthful James W. Grimes acted as secretary of this commission.¹⁹⁰ In the previous January, while with the Dragoons at Fort Leavenworth Colonel Dodge had expressed some pronounced views concerning this area. "The inhabitants residing on the Western Border of the State of Missouri are Much opposed to the Location of the Indians immediately West of the State Line. I have no Hesitation in saying that Strip of Country should be annexed to the State of Missouri".¹⁹¹

In the next year Congress passed a law¹⁹² by which this region was added in 1837 to the State in which Henry Dodge had grown to manhood.

Another treaty of great importance to the future of Iowa was negotiated by Governor Dodge on the next day on the present site of Davenport.¹⁹³ This was in regard to the famous "Keokuk Reserve", containing 256,000 acres, which had been reserved for the Sacs and Foxes by the treaty of September 21, 1832. Besides the regular purchase price of \$130,000 the government assumed for the Indians several items of indebtedness, making the cost of this magnificent estate between seventy and seventy-five cents per acre.

Besides the chiefs and braves at this treaty hundreds of Sac and Fox warriors were encamped upon the banks of the Mississippi River. Passengers from the steamboat "Missouri Fulton" had landed to enjoy the dramatic features of the scene.¹⁹⁴ Many officers and Indian interpreters were present to witness the formalities of the event. Keokuk, the principal speaker, was recognized as the chief of the tribes. With his noble countenance, dignified form, and

highly decorated vestments he made the council tent ring with his eloquence. Black Hawk, dethroned and despised since his defeat by Colonel Dodge, maintained a dumb and dismal silence. Wapello's stoical indifference commanded respect and made a striking contrast to the young and talented but dissipated Appanoose. Nah-pope, a companion in misfortune of Black Hawk, was not allowed to speak or even to sign the treaty. "*Nah-pope* rose, however," relates George Catlin who witnessed the scene, "and commenced a very earnest speech on the subject of *temperance!* but Governor Dodge ordered him to sit down, (as being out of order), which probably saved him from a much more *peremptory command* from *Kee-o-kuk*, who was rising at that moment, with looks on his face that the Devil himself might have shrunk from."¹⁹⁵

After the signing of the treaty Governor Dodge urged that the Indians vacate the cession promptly so as to make room for inflowing settlers. This advice caused considerable mirth among the Indians, and their reply indicated the immediate value of the soil: "There are already four hundred Chemokemons [white settlers] on the land,

and several hundred more on their way moving in; and three days before we came away, one Chemokemon sold his wigwam to another Chemokemon for two thousand dollars, to build a great town.”¹⁹⁶

Political matters next claimed the attention of Governor Dodge who now repaired to Belmont in Iowa County. Here the Governor had chosen to convene the first Legislative Assembly on October 25, 1836. When the legislators assembled a crude village was observed, consisting of a frame building for the capitol, a tavern, three lodging-houses, two grog-shops, a printing-office, and an unfinished stable. Criticism was directed upon the Governor for having chosen a capital with such miserable accommodations. “The whole of the Brown delegation”, wrote one member, “lodged in one room, about fifteen by twenty feet, and our lobby friends roomed with us. Our beds were all full, and the floor well-spread with blankets and over-coats for lodging purposes.”¹⁹⁷

Other discomforts came with the cold weather. Wood was scarce, and these pioneer law-makers were compelled to shiver from the raw November and Decem-

ber air. It was difficult even to secure enough water for toilet purposes; while other complaints arose over the bill of fare at the tavern. "That the Legislators of the great Territory of Wisconsin should be made comfortable during the discharge of their duties", wrote an anonymous sufferer, "I think necessary for the enactment of good and substantial laws. Empty stomachs make clear heads, but not good laws. The Lord deliver us from a set of hungry Legislators."¹⁹⁸

A brief, clear, and sensible message was delivered in person by the Governor on the second day of the session. The Legislative Assembly was urged to define the jurisdiction and powers of the several courts of the Territory and to divide it into judicial districts. Memorials, he said, should be sent to Congress on the subject of preëmptions and internal improvements such as harbors, lighthouses, and roads. The improvement of the Rock River he considered a question of vital importance; while he urged that the organization and arming of the militia was necessary to insure the future peace of the Territory.¹⁹⁹

This session lasted forty-six days, during

which forty-two laws were enacted upon a variety of subjects. Three banks were incorporated — the Miners Bank at Dubuque, the Bank at Milwaukee, and the Bank at Mineral Point. Many laws upon local government were passed; the construction of bridges and Territorial roads was authorized; and new counties on both sides of the river were created.

The question of locating the permanent capital had touched a score of selfish interests and had produced some stormy discussions in the Legislative Assembly. "I deem it proper to state", the Governor had declared in his message, "that my assent will be given to its location at any point where a majority of the representatives of the people agree it will best promote the public good." Peru, Cassville, Bellevue, and Burlington presented their claims; and a strong remonstrance came from the citizens of Dubuque County. Charges of corruption and bargaining were given and taken, and even Governor Dodge did not wholly escape from a suspicion which was subsequently shown to be without reason. By the act of December 3, 1836, the capital was finally located at Madison; but until the public

buildings at that place should be completed the legislative sessions were to be held at Burlington in Des Moines County.

Turning again to his duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Governor Dodge found much to be desired in the way of reform. At every payment of specie annuity at Fort Winnebago the most shameful scenes of drunkenness and murders among the Indians were enacted. Traders and peddlers would swarm around the Indian village and dispense whiskey to the ignorant savages as long as they were able to pay for it. Joseph Montfort Street, the Indian Agent at Rock Island, made strong efforts to have some of the annuity money given to the Indians in the form of Indian schools, blacksmith shops, and farming implements. Orders from Washington, however, made it impossible for either Street or Governor Dodge to promote such a reform.

In July, 1837, Governor Dodge journeyed far to the north to Fort Snelling at the head of the Mississippi River. Messengers had been dispatched to invite the Chippewas to a grand council, and late in the month about twelve hundred Chippewas and about four hundred Sioux had assembled. This unex-

pected convocation had also drawn to it a host of traders and agents of fur companies. By the treaty signed on July 29, 1837, the great pine forests of the St. Croix River were ceded to the United States. Liberal payments were made in money, tobacco, blacksmith shops, grain, seed, farming implements, and provisions. Incidentally this council resulted in sending a Sioux delegation to visit Secretary of War Poinsett.²⁰⁰

Late in October, 1837, Governor Dodge and the members of the Legislative Assembly were on their way to Burlington where the second session was to convene on November 6. A cotillion was given in honor of the legislators, and Burlington outdid Belmont in providing both hospitality and comfort. Taverns and hotels were plenty, and the "Exchange" was open at reasonable hours where "a clean tumbler, fresh water, and an excellent glass, courteously served may be had". Prairie chicken, venison, duck, goose, and fish were served from the kitchen of "that prince of cuisines, Monsieur Ude."²⁰¹

This session was held in a building which had been constructed for the Legislative Assembly during the previous summer; and

Jeremiah Smith, an enterprising member of the House of Representatives, had spent about \$7000 in its construction. On a cold night on December 13th, the entire structure was totally destroyed by fire. A special committee of the Legislative Assembly investigated the calamity and reported that the fire was purely of an accidental origin.²⁰² Both bodies were then forced to hold their sessions in two small buildings on Main Street.

Governor Dodge delivered his message in the hall of the House on the second day of the session.²⁰³ Many of the recommendations in his first message were repeated. The codification of the Territorial laws was urged; the disputed boundary between the Territory and the State of Missouri was discussed; the erection of county jails where needed was urged; and it was pointed out that a reapportionment of Representative districts needed to be made. During this session five veto messages were sent by the Governor to the Legislative Assembly.

When the law-makers adjourned on January 20, 1838, over one hundred laws had been enacted upon a great variety of subjects. The Governor departed for his home at Mineral Point on January 23rd, leaving

a fine record at Burlington. "Governor Dodge is the very best executive officer this Territory could get", wrote a local editor. "Practical sense, firmness, courage, a knowledge of the frontier character, and of the Indian character — are indispensable for such an officer; and these he possesses in an eminent degree."²⁰⁴

Business in the Indian and the executive departments engaged Governor Dodge for the next five months. He believed that so far his administration had met the approval of the great mass of the people. Henry Dodge was now in his fifty-fifth year, and no doubt the pressure and worry of his office sometimes brought on a desire for retirement. Writing to George W. Jones on February 19, 1837, he said: "I have Had Offices Enough to Satisfy one man and from my present feelings on that Subject I think I will never be a candidate for Any Public Office after I retire from my present Station".²⁰⁵

Meanwhile everybody was expecting that a separate Territory would be created west of the Mississippi River. Petitions and memorials had been sent to Washington. Territorial newspapers had discussed it, and

the matter had come up in the Legislative Assembly. In Congress it appears that Delegate George W. Jones had been working for such a measure and had cited the enormous increase of the population as a potent argument. As early as May 25, 1838, Governor Dodge had written a letter to President Van Buren in which he urged that George W. Jones be appointed Governor of the Territory if it were to be created.²⁰⁶

An extra session of the Legislative Assembly convened at Burlington on June 11, 1838, to pass a law to reapportion the representation in the lower branch of that body. During the session of fifteen days thirty acts were passed. On the 13th of June the Governor wrote to Delegate Jones at Washington that "there is great Political calculation making here among the great Men who are waiting impatiently to hear the result of the Division of the Territory".²⁰⁷ On the day before, however, President Van Buren had signed the act whereby was to be created on July 4, 1838, the Territory of Iowa.

The first two years of the administration of Henry Dodge represent the connecting link between Iowa and the Old Northwest. During this time the ægis of the Ordinance

of 1787 extended over the Iowa country, bringing with it a mass of precedents, conventions, and traditions, which for many years had found sway in the Territories of the Northwest under such Governors as St. Clair, Harrison, Cass, and Mason.

Finally, from these two years there emerge the beginnings of local government and administration. Township and county officers are appointed and their duties and powers prescribed; townships, counties, and other units of administration are created; and the judicial system is inaugurated and improved. Henry Dodge's use of the executive power conduced toward harmony in administration, restraint upon unwise legislation, and a check upon the tendency toward speculation and extravagance. From a retrospect of over seventy years, therefore, this biennium presents an administration that was honest, efficient, and faithful.

XI

GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY 1838-1841

HENRY DODGE'S governorship of the Territory of Wisconsin covers a period of nearly three years, during which the population of the Territory increased from about eighteen thousand in 1838 to over thirty thousand in 1840. It is a continuation of his successful administration of the same office in the original Territory of Wisconsin: the management of Indian affairs continues as one of his principal problems; the growing vigorous Territory presses its demands for internal improvements; the germs of Statehood are planted; and the Governor witnesses the rise of the political party system in Wisconsin.

The Governor's first message²⁰⁸ was a legislative chart to guide the progress of the thirty-nine law-makers who assembled at Madison on November 26, 1838. At the outset the Governor asserted that the division

of the Territory had been a wise step. He urged a memorial to Congress requesting a law which would allow biennial instead of quadrennial elections for members of the Council and annual instead of biennial terms for the Representatives. This would be in accordance with the tenures provided in the Organic Act for the Territory of Iowa.

Attention was also called to the question of Statehood. The population and the natural resources of the Territory indicated that "the time is not distant when she will form a strong link in the chain of States in the great valley of the Mississippi." Then he urged the enactment of a law that would provide a tax on the lands of non-residents. Such a law would be permitted by Congress, and the proceeds could be applied for the benefit of the common schools. "Its happy influence over the morals of our citizens would promote the cause of Religion and Virtue, and cement more closely the bonds of our political union, and be the means of preparing the rising generation to participate in the councils of our common country, as well as to enjoy and defend our free institutions from the polluting touch of aristocracy and despotism."

The law-makers were advised to investigate those banks which had violated the provisions of their charters. It was urged also that a committee be appointed to revise the Territorial laws and to render them more intelligible and accessible to the people; and finally it was urged that three judicial districts be created by the Legislative Assembly.

A large number of memorials to Congress were suggested. For example, that body should be asked to appropriate \$250,000 for harbors and lighthouses on Lake Michigan. Population would be increased, the shipping trade would grow, and the public lands would be much enhanced in price. Special stress was laid upon the importance of a good harbor at Milwaukee. Another memorial should request that 150,000 acres of land be exposed to sale, and that the proceeds therefrom be used in improving the Fox River of Green Bay and the Rock and the Pecatonica rivers. Such improvements would shorten the route of transportation (which was then by way of New Orleans) by providing an eastern outlet for the lead, peltries, and lumber of the Territory.

The Governor thought that Congress

should also be asked to grant \$10,000 to be used in removing the obstructions to navigation on the Mississippi River. For steamboats to pass the rapids of that river it required the unloading of their cargoes, and the time and money thus spent in lightening the boats was estimated to be fifteen per cent of the cargo. The State of Illinois and the Territory of Iowa shared the interest of Wisconsin Territory in this needed improvement.

From his message of 1836 the Governor quoted his views in regard to the necessity of securing preëmption rights for the lead miners, whose interests he was ever ready to promote. Another memorial should request the extinguishment of the title of the Menominees to that land bordering on the Fox River from the mouth of the Wolf River to the Portage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.

An unfinished capitol edifice greeted the members of the Second Legislative Assembly as they convened for their first session at Madison. For several days they met in the basement of the old American House, where Governor Dodge delivered his first message on the second day of the session. This was

then the only public house in Madison, and it served as the political headquarters.

At last the Legislative Assembly moved into the new Assembly Hall. The floor had been laid with green oak boards, full of ice, while the seats were constructed of the same material. Desks were made of rough boards. The one fireplace and the one small stove were not sufficient to keep the ink from freezing and the legislators from shivering with the cold. The green boards near the stove and fireplace shrunk, leaving large cracks between. "The basement story was all open," declares a member of this pioneer Assembly, "and James Morrison's large drove of hogs had taken possession. . . . We had a great many smart members in the House, and sometimes they spoke from Buncombe. When members of this ilk would become too tedious, I would take a long pole, go at the hogs, and stir them up; when they would raise a young pandemonium for noise and confusion. The speaker's voice would become completely drowned, and he would be compelled to stop, not, however, without giving his squealing disturbers a sample of his swearing ability." ²⁰⁹

Very meager appropriations were made by Congress for the Territory for the year 1839; and so the second session of the Legislative Assembly in January, 1839, devoted itself largely to the unfinished business of the former session. By a Congressional act of March 3, 1839, the veto power of the Governor had been modified to a qualified veto, it being provided that bills might become laws if passed by a majority of two-thirds after having been returned by the Governor without his signature.

Indian affairs became an important public question during this session. The Winnebago tribe, by the treaty of November, 1837, had agreed to vacate their ceded lands in eight months. Their depredations and threatening attitude stimulated a correspondence between the War Department and Governor Dodge who requested four companies of Dragoons and one thousand stands of arms. "Unless the Government takes the proper steps to effect their removal early in the spring," said the Governor, "I will assume the responsibility of raising a mounted volunteer corps of riflemen, (and head them in person) sufficient to effect their removal from this territory."²¹⁰

This bellicose declaration brought forth a letter from the Secretary of War who explained that the tardiness in the removal of the Winnebagoes was due to the risk and inconvenience that would result to the Indians in removing them at an improper season. Furthermore, the Indians felt a great reluctance to migrate to the neutral strip then occupied by hostile bands of the Sioux and Fox tribes. The Secretary announced that an exploring party would be sent in the spring to choose more suitable ground for them, and closed his letter with the hope that Governor Dodge would impose no obstacles in the way of the execution of the department's policies.²¹¹

A long list of duties fell to Henry Dodge as Superintendent of Indian Affairs.²¹² He was the general receiver of funds within his superintendency. He was to require the presence of an Agent or sub-agent at the superintendency and through him convey the funds to the various agencies. Each Agent was required to make a quarterly report to the Superintendent, before the payment of his salary, of receipts and expenditures, and of the goods, stock, provisions, and husbandry at the agency.

Generally speaking the Governor was the medium of communication between the agencies and the Indian Bureau at Washington. Memorials were forwarded by him to Washington. He secured the execution of the bonds of the various Agents. The task of erecting buildings was sometimes delegated to the Agent. The Governor gave advice as to expenditures for the erection of buildings and the purchase of new agency sites. He could make application for treaties. Complaints from the whites were heard by him; and he inquired into the claims of fur companies, traders, and interpreters who were always present at the payment of the annuities.

Dodge's report of October 18, 1839,²¹³ to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs describes the various tribes in the Territory for that year. About two-fifths of the Winnebagoes were residing within thirty miles of Fort Winnebago and were showing a desire not to remove from their ceded lands and to refuse to obey their treaty obligations. Compulsory measures, urged Dodge, will be necessary to remove them. The baneful effects of the sale of liquor to them at the Portage and at Prairie du Chien was men-

tioned, and Dodge quoted the following from Sub-Agent David Lowry's report: "The Indian can only be redeemed from his present degraded state by the protecting policy of the government removing him where intercourse with the white man can be prohibited, and establishing schools and farms among them, under the supervision of competent agents."

The Chippewas on the sources of the Mississippi, explained the report, would likely retain their warlike and wandering habits. The removal of the Menominees from Green Bay to the west of the Mississippi River was advised. The tribe was scattered over a wide expanse of territory, living by hunting and fowling, and derived but little benefit from annuities or the schools and farms established for them. Other tribes were the Oneidas, Munsees, and the Stockbridges attached to the Green Bay agency. These Indians were few in number, civilized, and desirous of obtaining the rights of citizenship. It was advised that they be removed to the Missouri to free them from the evil influences of the whites.

Until the year 1839 the Territory had enjoyed freedom from the turmoils of partisan

politics, but by June of that year both the Whig and the Democratic parties were girding themselves for the approaching election of Delegate to Congress. Delegates were chosen, nominating conventions held, resolutions were adopted, committees were appointed to prepare and issue addresses, and corresponding committees were provided for in each county.

Byron Killbourn had been nominated for Delegate by the Democrats, while the Whigs placed in the field the brilliant and scholarly Judge James Duane Doty — a man destined to become a worthy political opponent of Governor Dodge. On June 29th there was announced the independent candidacy of Thomas P. Burnett, which was intended and regarded as a rebuke to the rise of partisan methods and candidates. After a brief but spirited contest, in which fourteen counties participated, Judge Doty was elected over Killbourn by a large majority.²¹⁴

Governor Dodge's message²¹⁵ was delivered on December 3, 1839. "It is the happiness of the Chief Magistrate of this Territory, at the present time", wrote the *Madison Express*, "that his path is unembarrassed by party lines."²¹⁶ The question

of Statehood was again emphasized. A memorial should be sent to Congress asking for \$30,000 for an appropriation for the Penitentiary. Attention was also directed to the currency which had been largely drained of specie by the land sales; and formal recommendations were made relative to memorials for additional Congressional appropriations.

Rigid investigation of the bank at Mineral Point was urged. The exclusive powers of banks have been derived from the people, declared the Governor, and such institutions are consequently proper subjects of legislative control. Banks when properly managed he regarded as beneficial to both the individual and to the community. "It must be admitted, however, that monied associations are not republican in their tendency, and when used for purposes of speculation, have a withering influence on the best interests of the great mass of the community. Monopolies of every kind should be put down, and all corporations strictly confined to the privileges plainly set down in their charters."

Sixty laws were enacted at this session of the Legislative Assembly. On the 11th of

January, 1840, was enacted a law providing for the census. The Governor was authorized to contract with the Marshal of the Territory, at a sum not to exceed \$600 to furnish to the Governor a transcript of the census of the Territory as taken by him for the sixth census authorized by Congress. Twenty-two counties showed a population of 30,747.

An extra session of the Second Legislative Assembly was convened at Madison on August 3, 1840. Governor Dodge's message was confined to the recommendation that a reapportionment of Representative districts be made. Twelve other acts were passed at this brief session which lasted but twelve days.

When the first session of the Third Legislative Assembly assembled in December, Governor Dodge again referred to the question of Statehood and urged that action be taken upon that subject. A memorial to Congress should request annual and biennial elections to the Legislative Assembly; while another petition should request a law allowing popular election of all county officers. Governor Dodge believed the people of the Territory fully competent for self-govern-

ment, and pointed to the beneficial results of such provisions in the neighboring Territory of Iowa.

Partisan politics grew in bitterness as the Territory became engulfed in the noisy demonstrations of the log-cabin and the hard-cider campaign of 1840. Charge after charge was made by the Whigs against all Democratic office-holders from the President down to the Marshal of the Territory. On March 9, 1839, Henry Dodge had been appointed to the office of Governor for the term of three years, and a majority of the people hoped for a continuance of his honest and efficient administration. The theatrical campaign of 1840 had, however, resulted in the election of a Whig President; and so in March or April of the next year Governor Dodge was supplanted by James Duane Doty, the leader of the Whig forces in the Territory of Wisconsin.²¹⁷

XII

DELEGATE FROM THE TERRITORY OF WISCONSIN

PRESIDENT Tyler's appointment of Doty resulted in transferring to Congress for four years the services of Henry Dodge as Delegate from the Territory of Wisconsin. His unanimous nomination for the office by the Democrats in July, 1841, was followed by a brisk campaign against Jonathan E. Arnold, the Whig nominee. The election took place on the 27th of September, and the results from the seventeen counties gave him a majority in all but four counties. His total vote was 3,435 — a majority of 507 over the Whig candidate.²¹⁸

It was a tall, dignified, and erect figure that stepped up with a military bearing to take the oath of office in the House of Representatives, when on December 7, 1841, ex-Governor John Reynolds presented the credentials of Henry Dodge.²¹⁹ His admission to the House now gave three Territorial

Delegates to that body. Augustus Caesar Dodge having entered Congress in the previous December as Delegate from the Territory of Iowa was there to welcome his father to congressional life. The Territory of Florida was represented by Delegate David Levy.

By the Organic Act of the Territory of Wisconsin the term of office of Henry Dodge was two years. As Delegate he was given a salary of \$8 per day with \$8 for every twenty miles traveled in going to and from Washington. He enjoyed all the privileges of a Representative, except that he was neither allowed to vote nor given membership on the committees. He was the sole representative at Washington to present and push claims from the Territory and to take care of the great mass of memorials and petitions which were continually being sent to him from the Legislative Assembly, from towns, and from citizens.

An important duty and a never-ending task of Delegate Henry Dodge was the presentation of petitions and memorials. The petitions of January 6, 1842, are illustrative of this fact: four petitions asked for mail routes; eight more requested harbors; ap-

propriations for roads were asked; money was desired for roads and for the improvement of the rivers in Wisconsin; petitions in behalf of settlers on canal lands were presented; the miners of the Territory asked for concessions and another memorial related to the subject of school lands.²²⁰

Ever mindful of the growth and prosperity of his Territory he labored faithfully in securing legislation favorable for the settler and the miner whose interests always struck a responsive chord in Henry Dodge. When on July 14, 1842, an amendment was introduced which proposed to reduce the duty on lead from three cents to two and one-half cents per pound, he rose to the defense of the interests of the miners of Wisconsin Territory.²²¹ The output of the Mississippi lead-mines in 1841, urged Dodge, amounted to the immense sum of twenty millions of pounds. Although a Democrat, and not a friend of protective or high duties, Mr. Dodge did not believe that sound policy would demand a low duty on lead: the tax would be but little felt on account of the limited use of the article; the mines were yet in their infancy and needed the fostering hand of the government to develop and sus-

tain them ; and, finally, it was urged that lead was an important ingredient of war and its sufficient production would render the Nation independent of other sources.

Justice, sheer justice, urged the Delegate, demanded from the national legislators that they should place their protecting arms around and beneath those hardy and enterprising men. By their perseverance and industry they had enriched the national treasury by developing the mineral wealth of Wisconsin Territory. But for these men the country would be a savage waste and they had not only replenished the treasury by the sweat of their brow, but they had also shed their blood to protect the country to which the government had invited them.

Immense benefits would accrue to the government ; an interior commerce would be created ; the value of the public domain would be increased ; and rapid settlement and increased wealth would result. Augustus Caesar Dodge then followed his father in defense of the higher duty, and William C. Johnson of Maryland warmly indorsed the arguments of the Wisconsin Delegate. The vote on the amendment was then taken and the duty was left at three cents.

Five days later Henry Dodge made a strong plea for his bill (introduced on June 29, 1842) which made appropriations for the construction of harbors on Lake Michigan in the Wisconsin Territory.²²² These were to be located at Milwaukee, Racine, and Southport; and the expenditures for these improvements, estimated Dodge, would be \$171,118. For six years memorials had been sent from the Territory urging the improvements; but the incessant calls for aid had only resulted in obtaining surveys at these points.

“More than four hundred miles of coast,” he said, “extending from Chicago to Green Bay, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, are destitute of a harbor or a shelter, where safety can be found for vessels from the storms and high winds and dangerous surf which characterize that lake from the other great lakes of the Northwest. The entire length of the coast of Lake Michigan is about nine-hundred and eighty miles; and the contemplated harbors will afford protection, in all violent storms, to vessels trading to its eastern as well as its western shore.”

A statement was then submitted showing

the great loss of life and property which had resulted from the unprotected condition of Lake Michigan. Aside from the protection of commerce he regarded such harbors as national works from their usefulness in time of war; millions of acres remained unsold in Wisconsin Territory; and the erection of harbors would tend to increase the navigation to the Territory, enhance the value of the public lands, and increase the sales.

He pointed out that "to insure the growth of the Territory, and to produce the development of her natural advantages and great resources, it would be necessary to erect her harbors, improve her rivers, and assist her to open a few important roads; and, in aiding in thus bringing into successful operation her many advantages, the Government can not fail to advance its own best interests."

A bitter controversy in which the Legislative Assembly and Delegate Dodge were arrayed against Governor Doty became an unpleasant feature of this period.²²³ It will be recalled that in 1836 and in 1838 Congress had appropriated \$40,000 for the erection of public buildings for the Territory. To James D. Doty, as treasurer of the board of

commissioners, this sum was entrusted. He refused, however, to render any account to the Legislative Assembly, claiming that he was accountable only to the Treasury of the United States, that he had settled with the officials of the Treasury Department and that he had deposited there the unexpended balance of \$1758.28.

Delegate Henry Dodge on May 14, 1842, moved a resolution ²²⁴ in the House whereby the Secretary of the Treasury was requested to submit all the papers connected with Doty's statement in regard to the expenditure of the \$40,000. It was time, thought Dodge, that all the facts in relation to this matter should be elicited. Fraud and corruption having been charged against Doty, it was due to the Governor, to his standing, and to the relation he held with the General Government that he should appear with clean hands.

Dodge declared that the people and the Legislative Assembly of the Territory did not agree with Doty in his view that he was not accountable to them. "It is believed by them, sir," he said, "that the Congress of the United States appropriated the money for the Territory, expressly to enable it to

erect its public buildings, and placed its disposition solely under the Legislature of the Territory. The denial on the part of Governor Doty to recognize the authority of the Legislature, and his refusal to obey the laws which they have passed, and to pay over the money to the Territory which, it is believed, he holds, to those who have been appointed by the proper authority to receive it, render the call for information on the Secretary of the Treasury necessary.”

After a bitter arraignment of Governor Doty by Representative William Medill of Ohio, Mr. Dodge's resolution was adopted. “You will perceive”, writes Henry Dodge a month later, “from the Documents I have inclosed You lately that I have been *Nailing Doty*[.] You will See from My remarks in the House that I treated *his Excy* with great Courtesy at the same time. I had to notice his letter and the Abuse he Heaped on the Legislative Assembly as well as his *Whig Friends* by doing Justice to the Character and Standing of the Members of the Legislature, as well as to the Whigs who had assembled at Milwaukee and Belmont to express their opinion in relation to *the integrity and Honesty of their Govt*[.] Nothing

saves him but the influence Webster has with Tyler the truth is I sincerely believe that Webster Tal[1]ma[d]ge and Tyler are the Only Men who do Not believe that Doty should be removed immediately from Office[.] I shall Keep a good Look Out while I am here and will make *D y.* a heavy weight for *Tyler to Carry before I am done with him*''.²²⁵

The Committee on Territories, to which was referred the information requested from the Secretary of the Treasury, reported on July 4, 1842. The committee, concurring in Dodge's opinion, regarded that Doty was bound to settle with the legislative authorities of the Territory. The refunding of the balance of \$1758.28 to the United States Treasury they could only attribute "to some error of judgment or misconception."²²⁶

Governor Doty had charted out a stormy course for himself. When the Fourth Legislative Assembly convened on December 5, 1842, the Governor declared that the session was unauthorized by law, unprovided for by any Congressional appropriations, and illegal. He had, therefore, no communication to make to them. The warfare between the Governor and the

Legislative Assembly now reached its most acute stage. A memorial was prepared by that body which was sent to President Tyler: it was set forth that the Governor had refused his coöperation; he had suspended legislative functions and was attempting to concentrate all power in the executive office. His Excellency John Tyler was, therefore, requested to remove James D. Doty from the office of Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin.

Moses M. Strong, the President of the Council, also took up arms against this sea of troubles by addressing, on December 12, 1842, a seven-page letter to Delegate Henry Dodge. The contest between the legislature and Doty was explained. His "anarchical position" should be cause enough for his removal; and so Mr. Strong begged the Delegate to present all the facts to the President and urge his removal from office.²²⁷

Delegate Dodge complied with Mr. Strong's request. In his official letter of February 14, 1843, he requested the removal of Doty from office and assigned numerous reasons for the request. He had violated the laws of the United States and of the Territory by refusing to coöperate with the Legis-

lative Assembly; his career on the board of commissioners for the erection of the public buildings was held up to reproach; he had procured, contrary to law, the appointment of his son, a minor, to lucrative offices; non-partisan petitions from Wisconsin Territory had urged his removal; and the Delegate closed by saying "that the history of the present Governor of this Territory is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over the people of Wisconsin."

In telling the story of this historic controversy Moses M. Strong tersely concludes with these words: "The Governor was not removed by the President."²²⁸

During Henry Dodge's two terms as Delegate not a great deal was accomplished toward the obtainment of congressional appropriations for fostering and promoting public improvements within the Territory of Wisconsin. Indeed, little was secured for the Territory beyond the regular contingent expenses; so that his efforts do not measure up in their results with those of his son, Augustus Caesar Dodge, in obtaining appropriations for the Territory of Iowa.

Neither the discordant factions in Wisconsin nor the quarrel between the Governor and the Legislative Assembly were conducive to arousing in Congress a liberal attitude toward the young Territory of Wisconsin. Writing to George W. Jones on June 14, 1842, Henry Dodge said;—"You have Never Seen Such a Body of Men Convened as the present Members of the House of Representatives. Bitter and Vindictive as they Can be Towards Each other & but Little of that Courtesy Necessary in Legislative Bodies, the Whigs are divided and Cut to pieces Among themselves Many of them exceedingly hostile to Tyler and to tell you my Opinion their Appears to be with the Heads of the Departments a great deficiency of Practical Knowledge to enable them to administer the Govt[.] I have been for Six Months using all the Means in My power to get the Money Appropriated last March a year Ago Sent to the Territory".²²⁹

The largest appropriation secured by Henry Dodge for public improvements was the sum of \$10,000, granted by the act of March 3, 1845. Of this sum \$3000 was to be expended for the construction of a road from Sheboygan to the Fox River; \$2000

for the repair of a road from Fort Howard to Fond du Lac; and the balance was to be used in improving the road from Southport to Beloit.²³⁰

A proposition to disband the second regiment of Dragoons, which was under consideration in the House on March 26, 1844, stimulated an intelligent protest from their former Colonel.²³¹ He warmly contended for the protection and defense of the frontier and caused several letters to be read by the Clerk in which were set forth the dangers to which the residents of the frontier were exposed. The remounting of this regiment he deemed but justice to the western people on whose borders the government had placed so many warlike Indian tribes. He enumerated the western forts and the troops employed in their defense, and showed the inefficiency of the force there employed.

This speech elicited an explanation from John Quincy Adams, the mover of the amendment, who declared that he had no disposition to strike a blow at the regiment of Dragoons. His purpose had been merely to test the question of increase or decrease of appropriations. In view of Dodge's speech Adams then withdrew his amendment.

One of Delegate Henry Dodge's last efforts in the House was his unsuccessful attempt on February 21, 1845, to dissuade Congress from reducing the appropriation for the legislative expenses of his Territory.²³² The Committee on Ways and Means had reported \$3529 less than the estimated amount made by the Governor and the Secretary of the Treasury. Why this difference, inquired the Delegate. The population of the Territory is increasing and the necessity of legislation will increase in proportion to its numbers. Millions of dollars had been paid into the treasury by his constituents for public lands. If the state of the treasury is such that it is necessary to retrench in the legislative expenditures of the Territory of Wisconsin, let the pruning-knife be applied to the salaries of the Governor, Secretary, and Judges. Reduce the per diem or the mileage of the Delegate to Congress from that Territory; but do not deprive the people of the means of making laws for their government.

XIII

GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY 1845-1848

HENRY DODGE was a beneficiary as well as a victim of the surging democracy which characterized the decades from 1830 to 1850. Political removals and appointments more than kept pace with the changes in political complexion at Washington; and the Territories sometimes gained and sometimes lost in administrative efficiency from these intermittent changes. Since his removal from the Governorship in 1841 Henry Dodge had been gaining legislative and political experience in Congress, but the election of President Polk in 1844 insured the reappointment of a Democratic Governor for the Territory of Wisconsin. Accordingly, in May, 1845, Henry Dodge resumed the duties of the office from which he had been removed four years before.²³³

President Polk's diary is an interesting though unintentional comment upon the

partisanship that marked executive appointments for the Territories for these two decades.²³⁴ Ex-Governor Tallmadge on October 14, 1845, held an extended conference with President Polk over his removal from the office of Governor. "Gov. Dodge", runs Polk's record of the interview in which the reasons for the change had been discussed, "was a Pioneer of the West and an old Indian fighter, a man of high character . . . who had been removed from the office of Governor by the late administration and Mr. Dotey appointed on political grounds solely; that from the papers before him, including the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly, it appeared to be the popular sentiment of the Democracy in Wisconsin that justice should be done him by restoring him to the office from which he had been removed without cause."

The President insisted that he had not acted with any feeling of hostility in removing Tallmadge and restoring Dodge. "He said also", continues the Polk diary, "that the people of the Territories had made serious objections to the practice of appointing persons from the states to offices within their boundaries, and that he had said to the

Delegates in Congress that he would not do so, but would when he could find proper men, appoint citizens of the Territories to the offices within their limits. . . . The President stated that Gov. Dodge had himself acted modestly in the matter; that he desired to be restored, but had said nothing to him to the disparagement of Gov. Tallmadge."

Early in May of 1845 Henry Dodge had returned from Washington to his home near Mineral Point. On the 5th of the next June a public dinner was tendered him by his neighbors, friends, and former battle-mates without distinction of party. The Mineral Point Dragoons under Captain John F. O'Neill escorted their prominent fellow-townsmen from his residence to the town of Mineral Point. Bands, toasts, processions, and a speech by Moses M. Strong marked the occasion, and the festivities of the day were concluded by a merry ball at the courthouse in the evening.²³⁵ Henry Dodge was still one of the common people and such a reception was regarded as a happy omen for a harmonious administration of the government of the Territory.

When the Fourth Legislative Assembly

of the Territory convened at Madison on January 5, 1846, Governor Dodge recognized several co-workers of his former administration. Among the twenty-six Representatives he saw Thomas Cruson; while among the thirteen members of the Council he remembered Nelson Dewey, John H. Roundtree, and Edward V. Whiton.²³⁶

On the second day the Governor appeared before the two chambers assembled in the House of Representatives and delivered his annual message.²³⁷ At the outset he urged a revision of the then existing laws relating to the common schools, which he regarded as fundamental to the elective franchise and to the permanency of representative government. The Territorial debt should be promptly paid, which would give standing to the credit of the Territory. The lack of a penitentiary was also pointed out. The Territory was forced to confine its criminals in county jails at an expense which would almost build a penitentiary. The reformation of criminals, he argued, is not possible in the county jails; and so the Legislative Assembly was urged to memorialize Congress upon the subject of a penitentiary for the Territory.

Another memorial, he urged, should be addressed to Congress upon the subject of the lead and other mineral lands in the Territory. The system of leasing to tenants by the government he regarded as fruitful of litigation, expensive and harassing to the people of the Territory, and unprofitable to the government itself. The system made the tenants dependent upon the agents of the government while the rent operated as a direct tax or tribute upon labor. A system of sales with preëmption rights would seem to be a better policy.

Congress should also be urged to grant additional appropriations and other improvements to navigation. Upon the four hundred miles of coast line of Lake Michigan commerce had grown enormously. More harbors upon this coast would serve as a war protection for the landing of troops. The removal of obstructions in the Mississippi River would be beneficial to Iowa and Illinois as well as to the Territory of Wisconsin. The construction of a water route between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers at the Portage would be a national improvement and would increase both trade and population. The improvement of the navi-

gation of Rock River would also be of large importance to the Territory.

Military matters also were discussed in the message. The Territory was entitled to six hundred stands of arms and equipments from the government; and the militia should be organized, officered, mustered, and their arms annually inspected. The law-makers were also urged to memorialize the Secretary of War to send a company of Dragoons to either Fort Crawford or to Fort Winnebago to insure the peace and quiet of the Winnebago Indians.

This session of the Assembly was quite prolific in legislation. New counties were created, and township government was further inaugurated. Judicial districts were established; many towns were created; Milwaukee was incorporated as a city; and Beloit College was incorporated by a special act. Territorial roads were authorized by special laws and the construction of dams was ordered. Laws upon divorce were enacted; and many memorials were sent to Congress. Moreover, numerous nominations to office were made by Governor Dodge, which with but one exception were confirmed by the Council without a division.²³⁸

Perhaps the most important law signed by Governor Dodge during this session was the bill which provided for the submission to the people of the question of the formation of a State government. The vote upon the question was to be taken upon the first Tuesday in April; and in case of a favorable vote the Governor was directed to make an apportionment among the several counties of delegates to form a State Constitution. The Governor was further directed to issue a proclamation declaring the apportionment. The election of delegates by the people was set for the first Monday of September. The delegates were then to meet at Madison on the first Monday of October to form a republican constitution, which should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection in such manner and at such a time as the convention should prescribe.²³⁹

The April elections showed by a vote of six to one that the people were in favor of a State government and every county except Grant gave a favorable vote. On August 1st Governor Dodge issued a proclamation which apportioned one delegate for every thirteen hundred inhabitants. No delegate from Chippewa County was elected.

On October 5, 1846, ninety-five of the one hundred and twenty-four delegates elected assembled at Madison where they drew up a Constitution and adjourned on December 16, 1846. The Constitution was to be voted upon on the first Tuesday of April in the following year.²⁴⁰

When the first session of the Fifth Legislative Assembly convened Governor Dodge (on January 5, 1847) discussed in his message²⁴¹ the probability of Statehood and enumerated some of the benefits to flow therefrom. Five hundred thousand acres would be granted to the State by the Congressional act of September 4, 1841;²⁴² and the State would also receive five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of the public lands. Other lands would be granted for school purposes and for a university. Furthermore, instead of a single Delegate, the State would be represented at Washington by three Representatives and two Senators.

His Excellency also urged that a joint committee of the Legislative Assembly be appointed to ascertain the amount of indebtedness of the Territory, since this would probably be the last session of the Territorial legislature. Memorials to Congress

for appropriations for harbors at Milwaukee, Racine, and Southport were recommended. The reorganization of the militia and its officers was again advised as a military precaution against Indian disturbances. And in this connection the Governor stated that, in the previous May, Secretary of War Marcy had requested him to raise a regiment of volunteer infantry. But the withdrawal of the regular troops from Fort Crawford having induced the citizens to believe that the volunteers should take the place of the regulars at Fort Crawford, the county of Crawford responded with a company of men which had accordingly been accepted for duty at that fort.

At this session of the Legislative Assembly the incorporation of railroads occupied much of the time of the law-makers. A number of laws were passed authorizing the construction of dams. Laws were also enacted to regulate the liquor traffic. A large amount of legislation related to the creation of new counties, the organization of others previously created, the incorporation of seminaries and new towns, and the establishment of county seats. A large number of memorials were also sent to Congress.²⁴³

Meanwhile war had been declared upon the Constitution which was to be voted upon in April. Before its adoption by the Convention it had been attacked, and in both the Council and the House of Representatives arguments against it had been sounded. Moreover, newspapers and public speakers expressed their protests against it without reservation. The campaign was something of a repetition of the one which had taken place in the Territory of Iowa, except that in Wisconsin party lines were not strictly drawn.

Many Whigs objected to the restrictions upon banking and bank circulation. The provisions on the rights of married women and exemption from forced sale were the object of vigorous attacks. The numerousness of the legislature was also declared to be objectionable; and the provision for an elective judiciary was criticised. The advocates of the instrument were diligent in meeting these objections and in pointing out its excellencies and its really progressive features.

By the decisive vote of 20,231 to 14,119 the Constitution went down to defeat at the April elections. Governor Dodge, on Sep-

tember 27, 1847, issued a proclamation convening the Legislative Assembly in extra session at Madison on October 18th. In his brief message he limited himself to recommending such action as would secure the admission of the Territory to Statehood. He was in favor of an early admission so that **the State could vote in the coming presidential election, and he again enumerated the benefits to flow from an early formation of a State government.**

Again the whole machinery for securing the adoption of a State constitution was put in motion. A bill was quickly passed which provided for an election on November 29th of sixty-nine delegates, who were to assemble at Madison on December 15th and there form a new constitution. The Constitutional Convention completed its labors and adjourned on February 1, 1848. The vote was to be taken on March 13, 1848; and on that date the instrument was adopted by a vote of 16,797 to 6,383.²⁴⁴

Confident of the adoption of the new Constitution, Governor Dodge had not deemed it proper to submit any subjects of legislation when the second session of the Fifth Legislative Assembly convened on February

7, 1848. It would best accord with the wishes of the people, he urged, to enact at this session as few laws as possible.²⁴⁵

“The existing war between the United States and Mexico”, said the Governor in his message, “has furnished a brilliant page in our nation’s history. . . . The President in the firm discharge of the high duties that have devolved upon him in the prosecution of the Mexican war, is entitled to the thanks of every true American, and the lasting gratitude of his country.” The memory of Captain Augustus Quarles who fell before the City of Mexico “will long be cherished by the grateful people of Wisconsin.”

With the final act for the admission of Wisconsin into the Union, which was approved on May 29, 1848,²⁴⁶ the career of Henry Dodge as a Territorial executive and administrator ends. The three years of his governorship are replete with progress and represent the last strides of the Territory in the movement toward Statehood. From the Old Northwest Territory the Commonwealth of Wisconsin emerges as the last of its quintet of States²⁴⁷—the culmination and the realization of the political ideals which had been formulated by the Congress of the

Confederation more than sixty years before. Henry Dodge represents the last link in the long chain of Territorial Governors²⁴⁸ who contributed to this evolution — an evolution which fused the Old Northwest with an indissoluble union of States.²⁴⁹

XIV

UNITED STATES SENATOR

THE highest office in the gift of the people of Wisconsin was now bestowed upon Henry Dodge for his long and conscientious service to the Territory. Against Edward V. Whiton and Alexander L. Collins, Isaac P. Walker and Henry Dodge (Democrats) were elected on June 8, 1848, as the first United States Senators from the new State of Wisconsin.²⁵⁰ It was Senator Benton who presented the credentials of Henry Dodge. On June 23, 1848, he took his seat in the first session of the Thirtieth Congress²⁵¹ and was assigned to the class of Senators whose terms expired in 1851.

Meanwhile political nominating conventions had begun to discuss Dodge's military and official records. A Barnburners Convention, composed of the friends of Van Buren, met at Utica, New York, on June 22, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Henry Dodge for Vice Presi-

dent. Senator Dodge, however, declined the honor²⁵²—proud though he would be, as he said, to have his name under other circumstances associated with that of Van Buren. In the next August the first National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, composed of Barnburners, Liberty men, and Anti-slavery Whigs, indorsed Van Buren for President and nominated Charles Francis Adams (the son of Henry Dodge's former colleague in the House) for Vice President.²⁵³

Henry Dodge's senatorial career covered a period of nearly nine years. Perhaps the Senate has never since contained a more remarkable group of men than served the country during his two terms. Webster, Calhoun, and Clay (at whose funeral Senator Dodge was a pall-bearer)²⁵⁴ were about to inaugurate the golden age of American eloquence. Senator Cass he recalled as the Governor of Michigan Territory just before the opening of the Black Hawk War. Stephen Arnold Douglas represented the State in which Dodge had helped to suppress the Winnebago War in 1827. And many years before Senator Jefferson Davis had served in Colonel Dodge's regiment of Dragoons.

His closest friend in the Senate was Thomas H. Benton, whom he had known and admired for thirty-five years and whom he consulted often on questions of a public nature. A bitter personal debate between Senators Henry S. Foote and Thomas H. Benton on April 17, 1850, almost resulted fatally. Benton had advanced toward Foote, who then drew a pistol. Henry Dodge now sprang to his feet and arrested his friend from Missouri, who amid the confusion exclaimed from time to time: "I have no pistols!" "Let him fire!" "Stand out of the way!" "I have no pistols!" "I disdain to carry arms!" Meanwhile the excited Senator from Missouri had been brought back to his seat; but, breaking away from Senator Dodge he again advanced toward Foote, who at this time was standing near the Vice President's chair. Senator Daniel S. Dickinson now induced Foote to surrender the weapon which he locked up in his seat.

"I am certain these things should be stopped", said Senator Dodge when matters had somewhat cooled. "The Senate of the United States has heretofore been considered as one of the most dignified and

decorous legislative bodies of men in the world, and we owe it to ourselves to vindicate the Senate from the disrepute, so far as it can be done, which attaches to it in consequence of a scene like this.'"²⁵⁵ On the same day the Senate, on Dodge's motion, ordered the appointment of a committee of seven to investigate and report on the facts of the recent disorder. Senator Dodge was appointed chairman of this committee, but on the next day declined to serve.²⁵⁶

One of his earliest votes in the Senate was in favor of extending the slavery prohibition of the Old Northwest Ordinance over the Territory of Oregon²⁵⁷—a political legacy which his own State of Wisconsin had enjoyed. In the legislation of 1850 he supported the bills for the admission of California and for the suppression of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; while his vote stands recorded against the Utah and New Mexico Bill, the Texas Boundary Bill, and the Fugitive Slave Bill.²⁵⁸

In his vote on the Compromise measures he was scrupulously honest and obedient to his constituents. During the debates and legislation on these measures the Wisconsin Senators were instructed by a resolution of

their legislature to vote against a clause in a bill applying to California, which was construed as admitting slavery. Senator Walker, however, disregarded his instructions and voted for the measure. Senator Dodge, rising from a sick-bed, had himself carried to the Senate chamber when the vote was to be taken. When his name was called he requested the Clerk to read the instructions from the legislature of Wisconsin to her Senators. When the Clerk finished reading he firmly voted "Nay". This action was looked upon as a stinging rebuke to Walker, whose action retired him from the confidence and esteem of the people of Wisconsin.²⁵⁹

Henry Dodge saw the population of his State more than double during his senatorial terms. From a new and growing State he presented petitions and memorials from his constituents. New mail routes were desired; railroad land-grants were requested; and applications for pensions for service in the Black Hawk War were presented in large numbers. Memorials from Indian tribes were sent him; while other petitions dealt with such matters as the saline lands, mineral lands, the improvement of the naviga-

tion of rivers, and the construction of harbors.

Senator Dodge served faithfully upon the Committee on Commerce as well as on the Committee on the Militia — for the latter of which he possessed superior qualifications. The improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers was a subject which absorbed much of his time and interest. This improvement was to connect the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence rivers. “In a military point of view”, he said, “I have ever regarded it as adding to the means of defense and protection of that portion of the frontier. . . . It will enhance the value of the public domain, and enable this Government to sell millions of acres which it could not otherwise dispose of.”²⁶⁰

On January 20, 1850, Henry Dodge was reelected United States Senator against James D. Doty for the full term of six years from March 4, 1851. This election, in which the vote stood sixty-nine to seven, was Dodge’s last contest with his old time Whig rival.²⁶¹

To the Kansas-Nebraska Bill he could not give his assent and his vote with those of Senators Chase, Seward, Sumner, and Wade

is recorded against the measure. The vote, however, of Augustus Caesar Dodge, his son, who had sat with him in the Senate since December, 1848, was cast in favor of the bill, along with those of Senators Douglas and Cass.²⁶²

When the debate over the question concerning the admission of Kansas was raging in 1856, Senator Henry Dodge rose to make an explanation. "I have heretofore voted against the extension of slavery under the instructions of my Legislature", he said. "I shall continue to do so. Although I have seen much to approve in the bill reported by the Committee on Territories, and really think it is well calculated to give peace to the people of Kansas, I shall vote against it; for as long as I represent the people of Wisconsin, and as long as their Legislature, which sends me here, instructs me, as it has done ever since I have been a member of this body, for eight years, I feel bound to conform my action to their instructions, or resign my position. I shall vote against the bill."²⁶³

Neither the historian nor the eulogist can find in Dodge's career as a United States Senator a subject for extended treatment. No great compromises or statutes are linked

with his name; and his longest speeches as preserved in the *Congressional Globe* do not occupy a full column. His training and talents fitted him for military life and administration rather than for the more abstract work of statesmanship and legislation. He cannot be given rank as a great Senator; he belongs rather to that class of Senators who are industrious and capable, and who have regard for their oath of office in which they promise to perform their duties to the best of their abilities.

XV

CHARACTER AND SERVICES

WHEN Henry Dodge retired from the United States Senate in 1857 he was an old man. President Pierce had offered him the governorship of Washington Territory; but this honor he declined,²⁶⁴ feeling that the labors of war and the burdens of peace for seventy-five years entitled him to spend the evening of his days in rest and retirement. The last years of his life find him at his old home in Wisconsin and at the home of his son Augustus Caesar in Burlington, Iowa.

The nation which he had served in arms and in administration he saw pass through its last crisis — the end of secession and of slavery — out of which emerged the indestructible union of States. In 1865 Christiana Dodge, his wife and companion for sixty-five years, died at Burlington.²⁶⁵ Two years later on the 19th of June, 1867, Colonel Henry Dodge died at Burlington in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

Considering the career of Henry Dodge in its length, extent, and character one can see a blending of many characteristics — from those of a hard-working pioneer to those of a member of the upper branch of Congress. To a considerable extent, therefore, his personal, civil, and military career discloses a cross-sectional view of life in the West in the first half of the nineteenth century.

From his long out-door life and his military experience Colonel Dodge acquired an erect, soldier-like carriage and bearing as well as a strong, healthy constitution. “I was introduced to him at H^d. Q^{rs}. yesterday”, wrote an observer in 1832. “He is perhaps forty years old — about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high — strong framed — with rather pleasing features, indicating decision of character without severity — He is said to possess great personal bravery”.²⁶⁶

Experience and latent ability somewhat compensated for his almost total lack of an early academic education. His letters and public papers, though somewhat chaotic in their punctuation and frequently phonetic in their spelling, exhibit, nevertheless, a clearness and directness of style. No one

can read his gubernatorial messages, his military orders, or his speeches without feeling that the author of them had a mind which composed with logic, directness, and purpose.

Among the positive elements of his character may be mentioned his personal and official integrity, which in a long period of service and in a very partisan era seems never to have been impeached. Firmness and fidelity of purpose, as well as a capacity to work constantly toward a goal, is well shown in his Indian campaigns. His power to judge of the usefulness and the capacity of others contributed largely to the success of his administrative appointments. A self-confidence, sometimes bordering on egotism, gave considerable propulsion to his conduct; while in his military experience there are many instances of his tact and ability for leadership.

Toned and tempered in the atmosphere of Jacksonian Democracy, Henry Dodge's stock of political ideas offers comparisons and contrasts to those of the representative of that popular movement. Faith in the West and in its people and an intuitive knowledge of their needs contributed to his

success as a public man. Precise conclusions and even definiteness are lacking in his attitude toward the great questions of the tariff, public improvements, currency, and banking. His comparative freedom from partisanship and his harmonious relations with his co-workers present, however, a striking contrast to the spoils system and to the many political quarrels of the Jacksonian reign.

Intimate personal and political relations with Senator Benton since 1815 helped to shape the Congressional career of Henry Dodge. A common devotion to the needs and the ideals of the West and to Jacksonian principles of Democracy, as well as a long residence in Missouri, often drew the two men together. Unlike the Missouri statesman, however, in neither education nor temperament was Dodge equipped with the liberal horizon or the power of scholarly research for attacking the problems before the American Congress.

Although long and well acquainted with the institution in Missouri, slavery had never become a part of his social psychology. Some of his slaves in Missouri accompanied him to Illinois and to Michigan Territory and there remained devoted and faithful

members of his household. And, though he had no direct acquaintance with the many repugnant features of the institution, his views on the subject kept pace with those of the people of Wisconsin. His vote, for example, on the Compromise measures and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was in accord with the wishes of his constituents.

At Washington his services neither as a Delegate nor as a Senator disclose in Dodge any special capacity for or application to the abstract questions of statesmanship and legislation. Moreover, it does not appear that Judge Doty, with more scholarly tastes and capacities, was the equal of Dodge in the ability to handle and to solve the more concrete questions which grew out of a pioneer environment. Here was a fitting field for Dodge in securing lead-mining rights, Indian treaties, preëemption laws, the organization of the militia, protection from Indian dangers, and the inauguration of local civil governments. These labors were beyond question attended with greater results than were his efforts in Congress.

Upon the Illinois and Wisconsin frontiers Henry Dodge, like thousands of other settlers and miners, had settled upon the pub-

lic domain in the Indian country in violation of Federal laws and in defiance of marshals, district attorneys, and Indian agents. His son in referring to this in the Senate in 1854 said: "He has had these laws, with the proclamations of the United States officers, read to himself and neighbors, when upon the Indian country in Wisconsin, more than a quarter of a century ago, commanding him and them to abandon the settlements they had made. He disregarded the mandate of those officers, threw up a stockade fort, provided himself and neighbors with several hundred guns, and announced that if the officers and soldiers of the regular Army desired to expel him they could come and try it." ²⁶⁷

Such practices — impelled of course by land-hunger and the desire for mineral wealth — hardly harmonize with Henry Dodge's views on nullification. Writing from Washington in 1833, when the Tariff Bill and the Force Bill were creating ominous threats, he said: "If a state can set aside a law of the Union, our existence as a federal government, would be of short duration. . . . The majority must rule, and if they do injustice to the minority, which to

be sure is a state of things greatly to be regretted, yet it would be a safer depository of power, than to permit the minority to dictate a course to the majority.”²⁶⁸

Henry Dodge's main contributions to western development and State-building are worked out in his careers as an Indian campaigner and as a Territorial executive. It is in these two capacities that he was able to apply with directness and marked efficiency his knowledge of and experience on the Mississippi frontier. Even among his contemporaries he was known by his past executive and military titles rather than by the legislative titles that he had borne. The survival of the title "Governor" is at least significant.

Colonel Dodge never participated in a war with a foreign power, but the results of his Indian campaigns give him an honored place among the leaders against the Red Men. Here his knowledge of Indian character and warfare won him a deserved popular confidence. Waiving technical obstacles in the Black Hawk War he pursued Black Hawk's band with a persistence which hastened the successful close of that conflict. Strict in discipline and tactful in his deal-

ings he won the praise of his superiors for the success of his far western expeditions of treaty-making and exploration.

As Superintendent of Indian Affairs his duties were not so arduous as were those of Governors Lucas and Chambers in the neighboring Territory of Iowa. His letters to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs show a sound knowledge and deep interest in such subjects as annuities, Indian schools, agencies, and the duties of Indian Agents. His activity in the negotiation of Indian treaties is indicated by the large number of compacts upon which his signature stands appended either as a commissioner or as a witness.

It is in the eight years of his Governorship that Henry Dodge reaches the zenith of his career as a public man. To this office he brought a record of long and efficient military service, a wide knowledge of frontier civilization, and ideas adapted to its increasing population and its political progress. Furthermore, in the evolution of the other Territories of the Old Northwest and in the administrations of their Governors he found and made use of organic laws, judicial decisions, and a mass of legislation. With

these pointing the way governing became easier and surer.

Without any profound knowledge or training in constitutional forms and in law-making, Governor Dodge has nevertheless left his impress upon Territorial legislation. Seemingly a strict constructionist at bottom, he did not read into the Organic Act a literalness which would render it incompatible with his own notions of the sphere of the executive authority. Inspired by the example of Andrew Jackson, Governor Dodge did not hesitate to use the veto power with a firm and efficient hand. From the beginning he demonstrated that the executive was an active part of the legislative power. A reading of his messages discloses that they served as real and effective guides to the Territorial legislature. His use of the veto power on such subjects as the location of county seats, county boundaries, and upon bills designed to promote speculation operated as a check to crude and unwise legislation. Then too, a personality long used to command was bound to make itself felt in legislative leadership.

With his rough-and-ready common sense Governor Dodge's administration was har-

monious. The pioneer legislators, coming as they did from various sections of the Union, representing widely separated regions, and bringing with them diverse and often conflicting political policies, had need of an executive who could harmonize the legislative machinery. This spirit of coöperation stands in marked relief to the discordant features of Governor Doty's administration which was perhaps the stormiest of all the administrations of the Governors of the Old Northwest.

Besides representing the dignity and authority of the National government, the Governor was vested by the Organic Act of the Territory with extensive appointive powers.²⁶⁹ With the advice and consent of the Council he appointed all judicial officers of the townships and counties, sheriffs, and some of the militia officers. Vacancies in these offices were also temporarily filled by executive appointments. Here as well as in the legislative department his policy met the approval of the Council and conduced to the efficiency and responsibility of the local government in the Territory.

From an historical retrospect the office of Territorial Governor in the late thirties and

forties would seem to equal in importance those of the provincial and colonial executives of the eighteenth century. The area to be governed was generally vaster, the problems of administration as complex, and the dangers from Indians fully as great. Both were the dominant influence in the government. And, as the administrations of the pre-Revolutionary Governors were training schools for the founders of the Republic, so the governments in the Territories of the Old Northwest bequeathed to the West a power and influence which made it a dominating factor in National affairs.

On the death of Governor Dodge the State Historical Society of Wisconsin adopted resolutions extolling his character and his long official services which "have secured for him to all time the grateful remembrance of the people of this State".²⁷⁰ Five days after his death Governor Lucius Fairchild paid public tribute to Governor Dodge in these words:—"A brave and accomplished soldier, an enlightened and incorruptible statesman — General Dodge was for many years recognized as one of the most distinguished leaders in the nation. Too brave to be other than he seemed, too honest to be a demagogue, his

career was characterized by a manly independence in doing right, which won for him the confidence of the whole people."²⁷¹

In 1870 the legislature of the State of Wisconsin passed an act to perpetuate his memory, declaring that the State was called upon to recognize in some permanent form honorable to the State the "sterling qualities and eminent services" of the late Governor Dodge. The act provided for the construction of a bust of the finest marble, not to exceed \$20,000 in cost. This bust was executed by the sculptor E. P. Knowles, and the completed work was placed in the Governor's room of the Wisconsin Capitol.²⁷²

HE SERVED HIS OWN GENERATION BY THE WILL OF GOD.²⁷³ Thus reads the epitaph on his monument overlooking the Father of Waters at Burlington. It is a fitting resting place for the man. The strong and ceaseless flow of the great Mississippi symbolizes his aggressive pioneer spirit. Its turbulent waves from the north reëcho forever the tales of his Indian conflicts and conquests. And in its more peaceful moods it reflects his civil and military career during which he helped to make and to mould two mighty Mississippi Valley Commonwealths.

NOTES AND REFERENCES



NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

¹ Most of the facts in this chapter are gleaned from the following sources:—

Theron Royal Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*. The author is a descendant of the Dodge family and his book contains an exhaustive register of all the descendants of the Dodge line.

Robert Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*. Besides the genealogical material this book contains sketches of Henry Dodge and a brief history of Block Island.

William Salter's *A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, for April, 1886, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 258-264.

Manuscript Notes by Augustus Caesar Dodge for an historical address delivered before the old settlers of Clark County, Missouri, in the fall of 1883. The writer was given access to these notes by the late Rev. William Salter of Burlington, Iowa.

² Richman's *Rhode Island*, pp. 6, 7.

³ Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*, p. 204.

⁴ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, pp. 7-11.

⁵ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, p. 11.

⁶ Woodward's *Dodge Genealogy*, pp. 16-18.

⁷ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

⁸ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

⁹ Judge John Law's *The Colonial History of Vincennes*, pp. 24-37.

¹⁰ *Narrative of Mr. John Dodge During his Captivity at Detroit*, edited by Clarence Monroe Burton, pp. 14-16.

¹¹ *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. II, edited by Clarence W. Alvord, Virginia Series, Vol. I, p. xev.

¹² *Narrative of Mr. John Dodge During his Captivity at Detroit*, edited by Clarence Munroe Burton, p. 34.

¹³ Thwaites and Kellogg's *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775-1777*, p. 143.

¹⁴ English's *Conquest of the Northwest, 1778-1783*, Vol. II, p. 736.

"As we had suffered already from the simple assertions of obscure persons, one of whom John Dodge, was known by several Virginians to be an unprincipled and perjured renegade, and as we had experienced the inhumanity of the executive power."—Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton's statement in *The Haldimand Papers* printed in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 512.

¹⁵ From a letter dated August 25, 1787, by Father Peter Heut de la Valinière to Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, printed in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, Virginia Series, Vol. II, *Cahokia Records*, 1778-1790, pp. 424-428.

¹⁶ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

¹⁷ Thwaites's *Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and*

Wisconsin in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1893, p. 193.

¹⁸ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 293, 294.

¹⁹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. VIII, pp. 105, 106.

²⁰ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

²¹ This story is found in Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

²² Gayarré's *History of Louisiana*, Vol. III, p. 406.

²³ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

²⁴ *History of Southeast Missouri* (1888), p. 310.

²⁵ "A few days after the birth of the child, a Piankeshaw chief came in, and said that it could not be allowed to live in their country, and he would dash out its brains. The mother plead for the life of her first born. Moses Henry explained that it was the 'papoose' of a friend of his, whose 'squaw' was sojourning in his house—that the child was born out of due time, while the mother was on her way to her people, and that they would soon go on their journey. These expostulations prevailed, the chief at the same time saying 'nits make lice; this little nit may grow to be a big louse and bite us;' a prophecy which came true. In gratitude to her benefactor, Mrs. Dodge gave his [that of Moses Henry] full name to the child, which he retained until he was grown, when he adopted the single name, Henry."—*Salter's A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter in the Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 261, 262.

²⁶ Salter's *A Heroine of the Revolution: Nancy Ann Hunter* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 263.

²⁷ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 295.

²⁸ Dodge's *Manuscript Notes*.

CHAPTER II

²⁹ Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 19.

³⁰ *History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 310-315. This is an anonymous work compiled in 1888 by the Goodspeed Publishing Company of Chicago.

³¹ Isidor Loeb in the *Missouri Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 63.

³² *History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 310, 311.

³³ *History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 311, 312.

³⁴ Darby's *Personal Recollections*, pp. 87, 88.

³⁵ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 342, 343.

³⁶ Houck's *A History of Missouri*, Vol. III, p. 67.

³⁷ *History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 312, 313.

³⁸ The complete list of the commissions is as follows:—

1. Lieutenant of Militia in the District of Ste. Genevieve; signed by James Wilkinson, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of Louisiana, and Joseph Browne, Secretary, May 10, 1806.

2. Adjutant of the Militia in the District of Ste. Genevieve; signed by James Wilkinson, Governor, etc., July 17, 1806. This commission also bears the oath of office sworn to by H. Dodge before Jno. Smith, T., March 2, 1807.

3. First Lieutenant of Ste. Genevieve Troop of Cavalry; signed by Frederick Bates, Secretary of the Territory of Louisiana, and exercising as well the government thereof as the office of Commander in Chief of the militia of said Territory, St. Louis, August 14, 1807.

4. Captain of Ste. Genevieve Troop of Cavalry; signed by Meriwether Lewis, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Territory of Louisiana, and F. Bates, Secretary, July 10, 1809.

5. Marshal for the Territory of Missouri; notification of appointment by President Madison; signed by James Monroe, Secretary of State, August 10, 1813.

6. Sheriff of the County of Ste. Genevieve; signed by William Clark, Governor of the Territory of Missouri, and F. Bates, Secretary, October 1, 1813.

7. Brigadier General of the Missouri Territory, to rank as such from the 17th of January, 1814; signed by James Madison, President of the United States, and J. Armstrong, Secretary of War, Washington, April 16, 1814.

8. Sheriff of the County of Ste. Genevieve; signed by Wm. Clark, Governor of the Territory of Missouri, and F. Bates, Secretary, September 30, 1815.

9. Marshal for the District of Missouri; notification of appointment by President Madison; signed by John Graham, Chief Clerk of the Department of State, February 25, 1817.

10. Marshal in and for the Missouri District for four years; signed by James Monroe, President, and John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, April 25, 1822.

11. Major General of the Second Division Missouri Militia; signed by Alexander McNair, Governor of the State of Missouri, and Wm. G. Pettus, Secretary of State, St. Charles, May 8, 1822.

12. Marshal of the United States in and for the District of Missouri for four years from April 25, 1826; signed by J. Q. Adams, President, and Henry Clay, Secretary of State, December 22, 1825.

13. Chief Justice of the County Court in and for the County of Iowa for four years from December 1, 1829; signed by Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and J. Witherell, Secretary; Detroit, October 14, 1829.

14. Colonel in the Militia of the Territory of Michigan; signed by Lewis Cass, Governor, October 15, 1829.

15. Major of the Battalion of Mounted Rangers, to rank from June 21, 1832; signed by Andrew Jackson, President, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, June 22, 1832.

16. Colonel of the Regiment of Dragoons, to rank from the 4th of March, 1833; signed by Andrew Jackson, President, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, May 10, 1834.

17. Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin for three years from July 3, 1836; signed by Andrew Jackson, President, and John Forsyth, Secretary of State, April 30, 1836.

18. Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin for

three years from July 3, 1839; signed by M. Van Buren, President, and John Forsyth, Secretary of State, March 9, 1839.

19. Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin for three years from February 3, 1846; signed by James K. Polk, President, and James Buchanan, Secretary of State, February 3, 1846.—*Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 338-340.

³⁹ Niles's *Weekly Register*, Vol. III, pp. 142, 143.

⁴⁰ An account of the enrollment of the Missouri Territorial militia is to be found in Houck's *A History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 103-108.

⁴¹ The facts and the narrative concerning this campaign are based on notes by Dr. Lyman C. Draper of Madison, Wisconsin, who constructed them from information furnished by Henry Dodge in 1855.—See the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 359-361.

⁴² Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 112-115.

⁴³ Houck's *A History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 248-250.

CHAPTER III

⁴⁴ Houck's *A History of Missouri*, Vol. III, pp. 190, 191.

⁴⁵ The facts and the quotation in this paragraph are taken from Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 346, 347.

⁴⁶ "I knew him [Augustus Caesar Dodge] when he helped to cordel the keel boat which conveyed his

father and his family from St. Mary's Landing Missouri to Galena Illinois in March 1827, he pulling at the cordel with his father, brother Henry L & his fathers negro slaves."—From a letter by George W. Jones to Charles Aldrich, dated June 1, 1890, and preserved in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

⁴⁷ A more detailed account of this journey may be found in the third chapter of the author's *Augustus Caesar Dodge*.

⁴⁸ Niles's *Weekly Register*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 344.

⁴⁹ From a letter by Joseph Montfort Street at Prairie du Chien to Dr. Alexander Posey, dated December 11, 1827, and preserved in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

⁵⁰ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 349, 350.

⁵¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 181.

⁵² Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 350.

⁵³ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 350, 351.

⁵⁴ This letter is printed in Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 351, 352.

Morgan L. Martin, who made a tour through these mining districts, wrote concerning it after a lapse of fifty-nine years: "Our first objective point was Dodgeville, where Henry Dodge had started a 'dig-gings'. We found his cabins surrounded by a

formidable stockade, and the miners liberally supplied with ammunition. The Winnebagoes had threatened to oust the little colony, and were displaying an ugly disposition. Dodge entertained us at his cabin, the walls of which were well covered with guns. He said that he had a man for every gun and would not leave the country unless the Indians were stronger than he.'—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 397.

⁵⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 300-303. Three days before he had witnessed a treaty with the Chippewas likewise negotiated at Prairie du Chien.

⁵⁶ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 353.

On July 4, 1829, he participated in a patriotic celebration at Mineral Point and officiated as President of the Day. The next month he was elected Chief Justice of Iowa County, which the Legislative Assembly of Michigan Territory had created a short time before.—*Galena Advertiser*, Vol. I, Nos. 4, 8, August 10 and September 7, 1829.

⁵⁷ Letter of Henry Dodge dated February 10, 1829, to Delegate Austin E. Wing, printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 431, 432.

⁵⁸ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 355; and *A Record of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Iowa*, pp. 87, 88.

⁵⁹ This public letter is printed in Salter's *Henry*

Dodge in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 355, 356.

⁶⁰ Printed in Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 356-358.

CHAPTER IV

⁶¹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 132, 133.

⁶² Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 250-255.

⁶³ This statement of causes is taken from a letter by Joseph M. Street to Dr. Alexander Posey, dated December 11, 1827. The letter is written from Prairie du Chien where for many years Street was Indian Agent. The letter is found in the *Street Collection* in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

⁶⁴ Strong's *The Indian Wars of Wisconsin* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 253.

⁶⁵ Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, pp. 72, 73.

⁶⁶ An extended account of this incident is Snelling's *Early Days at Prairie du Chien and the Winnebago Outbreak of 1827* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 123-153.

⁶⁷ Mrs. Adele P. Gratiot in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, p. 270.

⁶⁸ Letter dated August 26, 1827, and printed in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 157, 158.

⁶⁹ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 349.

⁷⁰ Quoted from Strong's *The Indian Wars of Wisconsin* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 261. Most of the facts of this campaign are gleaned from this article.

⁷¹ Red Bird died in prison at Prairie du Chien. His two accomplices were indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged on December 26, 1828. On November 3, 1828, they were pardoned by President Adams.—Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 130, 131.

⁷² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 265.

⁷³ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 300-303.

⁷⁴ Thwaites's *The Story of the Black Hawk War* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 217-265; also Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 109, 110.

"His passions were many, but the consuming passion of his life was hatred of the Americans, a hatred without cause and as unjustifiable and unreasonable as man's baser passions are always found to be. Yet this may not be surprising, fed as he was by his devouring gloom and restless, war-like spirit. The mantle of charity has many a time before and since covered graver faults; so let it be with Black Hawk's, for it is said of him that in his domestic life he was a kind husband and father, and in his transactions with his people he was upright and honest, if he was not ambitious for their elevation.'"—Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, p. 21.

⁷⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 74-77.

⁷⁶ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 126-128.

⁷⁷ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 250-255.

⁷⁸ Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 111. The main facts in the narrative of this campaign are taken from this volume, the author of which, Thomas Ford, was a participant and later Governor of Illinois.

⁷⁹ The text of the treaty is printed in Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, pp. 96-98.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 132.

CHAPTER V

⁸¹ The principal sources from which this chapter has been constructed are as follows:—

I. HISTORIES AND BIOGRAPHIES

1. Stevens's *Black Hawk War*. This is the most exhaustive and detailed treatment of this subject extant.

2. Stevens's *Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War*. This is a reprint of John Allen Wakefield's book published in 1834. Wakefield was a surgeon and a scout in this war and attained the rank of Major.

3. Salter's *Henry Dodge*. Chapter II in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, No. 1, contains a mass of facts and original material.

4. Ford's *History of Illinois*. The author was a participant in this war and later Governor of Illinois. The author attempts to show that not Dodge but Henry was the real hero of the war.

5. Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*. About twenty pages are devoted to the war by a competent hand.

6. Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Vols. I and II. This is an excellent collection of both secondary and source material.

7. *The Great Indian Chief of the West: Or, Life and Adventures of Black Hawk*, published anonymously at Philadelphia in 1855.

8. *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kia or Black Hawk*. Ford on page 110 of his history declares that this "was got up from the statements of Mr. Antoine Le Clere and Col. Davenport, and was written by a printer, and was never intended for anything but a catch-penny publication."

9. Elliott's *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records*. This contains a roster of the Illinois troops in the war.

10. Thwaites's *Wisconsin in the American Commonwealth Series*.

11. Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa* containing an account of the war and a sketch of Black Hawk.

II. SPECIAL ARTICLES

1. Thwaites's *The Story of the Black Hawk War in the Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 217-265.

2. Strong's *The Indian Wars of Wisconsin in the Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, pp.

241-286. This is reprinted in that author's *History of Wisconsin Territory*.

3. Parkinson's *Pioneer Life in Wisconsin* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 326-364.

4. *Pecatonica Battle Controversy* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 365-392.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois) in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society. This was a weekly edited by Addison Philleo who served in the war. It was the only paper then published in Illinois north of Springfield.

2. *A Record of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Iowa*. Published at Burlington in 1883.

3. Manuscript collections in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

4. *A Diary of the Black Hawk War* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VIII, pp. 265-269. The authorship of this diary, edited by Dr. John Carl Parish, has not been ascertained.

5. *Autobiographical Manuscript* by George Wallace Jones, a copy of which is in the Library of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

⁸² Thwaites's *The Black Hawk War* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 230, 231.

⁸³ This letter is printed in Stevens's *Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War*, pp. 35, 36.

⁸⁴ The proclamation is printed in Stevens's *Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War*, pp. 36, 37.

⁸⁵ Stevens's *Wakefield's History of the Black Hawk War*, pp. 41, 44, 45.

⁸⁶ Elliott's *Black Hawk and Mexican War Records*, p. xvii.

⁸⁷ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 135.

⁸⁸ *The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois) for May and June, 1832.

⁸⁹ Salter's *Henry Dodge in the Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 393.

⁹⁰ This letter was written from Mineral Point and is printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 417.

⁹¹ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 135. Colonel Daniel M. Parkison says there were "about fifty men" in this party.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 337.

⁹² *The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois), Vol. I, No. 3, May 16, 1832.

⁹³ *A Record of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Iowa*, p. 72.

⁹⁴ This talk is printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 416, 417.

⁹⁵ The complete story of this adventure as told by the captives themselves may be found in Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, pp. 150-154.

⁹⁶ Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 418, 419.

⁹⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 339-341.

⁹⁸ Printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, pp. 420-422.

⁹⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 341-343.

¹⁰⁰ From a letter to Dr. Addison Philleo printed in *The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois), Vol. I, No. 8, June 20, 1832.

¹⁰¹ "From that time [spring of 1831] we were mining and farming near Platteville and doing pretty well until the summer of 1832, when the Black Hawk War interrupted our work, as every man had to turn out, join some company, and go hunting after Indians. Lucius and I joined different companies, he that of Captain Gentry under Colonel Dodge and I enlisted in the company of Captain Craig under Colonel Stephenson. We put into the service five horses; and some of them did better fighting than I did, for only two of them came out of the war alive, the best one having been killed at the Battle of Bad Axe at the mouth of Black River on the Mississippi River. I had been mining and hunting Indians alternately all summer, but fortunately never found any Indians and unfortunately found no mineral."—*The Langworthys of Early Dubuque and their Contributions to Local History*, edited by Dr. John Carl Parish, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July, 1910. The quotation is found on pages 348, 349.

¹⁰² Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 141.

¹⁰³ The full report is printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part II, Vol. III, pp. 195-199.

¹⁰⁴ Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 128.

¹⁰⁵ Thwaites's *The Story of the Black Hawk War* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 246, 247.

¹⁰⁶ At Galena the ladies presented him with colors for his regiment and the Colonel responded with thanks, dating his reply June 25, 1832, from Fort Union.

¹⁰⁷ Stevens's *Black Hawk War*, p. 183.

¹⁰⁸ Thwaites's *The Story of the Black Hawk War* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 247.

¹⁰⁹ Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 277.

¹¹⁰ Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 135-137.

¹¹¹ Adjutants E. H. Merryman and W. W. Woodbridge and Little Thunder.

¹¹² *The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois), Vol. I, No. 14, August 1, 1832. This report was written by Dr. Addison Philleo.

¹¹³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 256.

¹¹⁴ This undated account is found among the George Hyer papers in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison.

The following report of the battle written by Dodge on July 22nd is extracted from Niles's *Weekly Register*, Vol. XLII, No. 1091, August 18, 1832:—

“We met the enemy yesterday near the Wisconsin river, and opposite the old Sack village, after a close pursuit of near 100 miles. Our loss was one man killed and eight wounded; from the scalps taken by

the Winnebagoes, as well as those taken by the whites; and the Indians carried from the field of battle, we must have killed 40 of them. The number of wounded is not known; we can only judge from the number killed that many were wounded. From their crippled situation, I think we must overtake them; unless they descend the Wisconsin by water.”

This is the account which gave rise to an endless discussion as to the relative claims of Colonel Dodge and Brigadier General Henry to be called the hero of this war. It should be remembered that the latter had the chief command at the battle of Wisconsin Heights.

¹¹⁵ Printed in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part I, Vol. I, p. 426.

¹¹⁶ Black Hawk and the Prophet Neapope were captured by Chaetar and One-eyed Decorah, two Winnebago braves who on August 27, 1832, delivered them to Agent Joseph M. Street at Prairie du Chien. The Winnebago, Little Thunder, received the government reward of \$2,000.—McBride's *Capture of Black Hawk* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 293-297; see also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VIII, p. 316.

¹¹⁷ From the unpublished autobiography of George Wallace Jones, a copy of which is in the possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹¹⁸ These figures are taken from Thwaites's *The Story of the Black Hawk War* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 261.

¹¹⁹ “Our citizens having been driven by that enemy of our race from their mines and farms, [are] forced

with their families, to collect for mutual protection into the rude stockades which are scattered over a large space of territory, or compelled to take up arms, and seek the savage foe in the forests and swamps into which they retreat, after committing their murders and depredations. Our country, instead of realizing the brilliant prospects of wealth and plenty, presents the melancholy [spectacle] of deserted cabins, of wasted and uncultivated fields. The season for planting and raising crops has passed away amidst the preparations for defense, and the clash of arms.”—*The Galenian* (Galena, Illinois), Vol. I, No. 17, August 22, 1832.

¹²⁰ Letter of P. Clayton, Second Auditor in the Treasury Department, to Henry Dodge, dated January 15, 1851, and printed in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 285, 286.

CHAPTER VI

¹²¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 533.

¹²² *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, pp. 36, 37.

¹²³ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 40.

¹²⁴ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 4, 5. “This order is given”, continues this order, “as well to serve for the punishment of DRUNKENNESS, as to spare good and temperate men, the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions.”

This *Military Order Book* is a manuscript document in Henry Dodge's own handwriting, containing his

military orders and correspondence from August, 1832, to March, 1836. The orders, issued from widely separated points in the Mississippi Valley, are all written in ink and are fairly legible, despite the seventy-five years that have passed since their writing. The *Military Order Book* is in the possession of the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa, and all references in this volume are to the original and unpublished source.

¹²⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 231, 232.

¹²⁶ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 7, 8.

¹²⁷ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 345-348.

¹²⁸ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 349-351.

¹²⁹ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 11, 12.

¹³⁰ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, p. 29.

¹³¹ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 18, 19.

¹³² Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 13, 14.

¹³³ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, p. 14.

¹³⁴ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 15, 16.

¹³⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 341, 352.

¹³⁶ A copy of this letter from Dodgeville, dated July 14, 1833, is to be found in Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 41-46.

¹³⁷ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp 1, 2.

¹³⁸ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 47-50.

¹³⁹ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 59, 60.

CHAPTER VII

¹⁴⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 652.

¹⁴¹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 126.

¹⁴² Henry Dodge to Colonel R. Jones, August 28, 1833, in Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 60-63.

¹⁴³ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 102.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted from Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 42, 43. This volume of 288 pages was published in 1836 and consists of a series of letters written by the author, James Hildreth. The journey from Buffalo to Jefferson Barracks is described, interesting sketches of life in the barracks are given, and the story of the marches from St. Louis to Fort Gibson and to the Pawnee Piet village is told with many stories and incidents of camp life. Sketches of Indian life and scenery form another interesting feature of the book.

¹⁴⁵ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 46. The facts in the description of the soldiers and the barracks in the foregoing text are taken largely from this work.

¹⁴⁶ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 47.

"Some captains have ordered timber ready hewn

from St. Louis, and allowed some of the dragoons extra pay (although merely a nominal sum) for their labor; but others have made their men cross the Mississippi, cut down timber and tow it to the opposite side, without the smallest compensation.

“Not to be at all personal, I have wondered whether *somebody* did not make money out of this speculation. If government paid for the labor, those who performed it had no share in the profits.”

¹⁴⁷ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 51, 52.

¹⁴⁸ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 59, 60.

¹⁴⁹ “The scenery of the surrounding country was the most strikingly picturesque and romantic that I had ever seen. Mountains and valleys so richly thrown together; forests and prairies so beautifully interspersed; the elm and sycamore towered high in the air; the ledges of broken rocks emitted forth their tiny torrents, which gently meandered on their course through the tangled foliage.”—Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 62, 63.

¹⁵⁰ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 63, 64.

¹⁵¹ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 84; also Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 65, 66.

¹⁵² Dodge's *Military Order Book*, p. 71.

¹⁵³ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 87, 88.

¹⁵⁴ A copy of this communication is to be found in Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 72-76.

¹⁵⁵ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 105, 106.

¹⁵⁶ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 82, 83.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Camp Jackson dated April 18, 1834, to George W. Jones, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁵⁸ Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*, p. 119.

The author here criticises the lack of ability in Dragoon tactics in some of the officers. "It is rather a laughable fact," he writes, "and one which reflects but little credit upon the accomplished graduates of West Point, that they should be compelled to receive instruction in swordsmanship from one of the enlisted members of the regiment. Such however is the case; and my friend Long Ned . . . regularly every afternoon exercises a class of commissioned officers in this branch of tactics, which they attempt afterward to impart to the men."

CHAPTER VIII

¹⁵⁹ The narrative of this chapter was constructed from the following sources: —

1. *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, pp. 373-382. This is the journal kept by Lieutenant T. B. Wheelock during the entire march. Although it is sketchy in form it presents a fascinating narrative as well as an official and accurate account.

2. Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, pp. 452-528 (Hazard's edition of 1857). The same material is also found in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1885, Part II. Mr. Catlin was at this time thirty-seven years of age, and enjoyed the confidence of Colonel Dodge of whom he painted a portrait. Dodge declared of Catlin's portraits of Indians that "The *likenesses* are good, very easily to be recognized, and the *costumes* faithfully represented." Vivid descriptions of the Indians and narratives of buffalo hunts, marches, scenery, and Indian councils from a keen observer, a forceful writer, and an artist, give both interest and value to this source.

3. Dodge's *Military Order Book*.

4. Hildreth's *Dragoon Campaigns to the Rocky Mountains*.

5. Manuscript letters from Henry Dodge in the Historical Department at Des Moines.

6. *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835*. This document describes four marches by the First United States Dragoons which extended over the area of five States of the Mississippi Valley. The author of the *Journal* was a member of Company I commanded by Captain Jesse B. Browne. The *Journal* is edited by Louis Pelzer and printed in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, pp. 331-378.

¹⁶⁰ Report of Secretary of War Lewis Cass in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 170.

¹⁶¹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 373.

¹⁶² *Smithsonian Report*, 1885, Part II, p. 479.

¹⁶³ *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 344.

¹⁶⁴ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 376.

¹⁶⁵ "Every morning early as the day dawned hundred[s] of Squaws might be seen ladened with corn Pumpions & water-mellons & Buffalo meat strolling through our camp more anxious to trade than our Yankee Pedlers — whatever ornaments or decorations we could offer whether Paints, Buttons, Ribbands or any thing else to make a show they quickly bartered. Horses of the finest form & appearance were willingly exchanged for a single blanket".— *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 358.

¹⁶⁶ Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 505.

"The little boy of whom I have spoken," wrote Catlin, "was brought in, the whole distance to Fort Gibson, in the arms of the dragoons, who took turns in carrying him; and after the command arrived there, he was transmitted to the Red River, by an officer, who had the enviable satisfaction of delivering him into the arms of his disconsolate and half-distracted mother."

¹⁶⁷ *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 359.

¹⁶⁸ "Marched at half-past eight o'clock", writes Lieutenant Wheelock on July 31, 1834. "Men in fine

spirits; abundance of buffalo meat; course northeast; distance 10 miles; encamped on a branch of the Canadian; three buffaloes killed this morning; no news yet from express; anxiously looked for; face of country rolling prairie; frequent deep gullies; one of the Kiowas killed three buffaloes with *three arrows*."

¹⁶⁹ Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 515.

¹⁷⁰ *A Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons in The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VII, p. 359.

¹⁷¹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 382.

¹⁷² Dodge's *Military Order Book*, p. 90.

¹⁷³ Letter from Colonel Dodge, dated October 1, 1834, and found in the Historical Department at Des Moines.

¹⁷⁴ A report of this expedition was sent to the Adjutant General, and a copy thereof dated August 18, 1834, is found in Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 85-89.

¹⁷⁵ "Colonel Dodge, who led the expedition," said Lewis Cass, "and his whole command appear to have performed their duties in the most satisfactory manner, and they encountered with firmness the privations incident to the harassing service upon which they were ordered."—*American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 358.

¹⁷⁶ Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 525.

CHAPTER IX

¹⁷⁷ This chapter is based upon the material found in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VI, pp. 130-146. This material consists of the following documents:—

1. The journal of the march of this detachment of the Dragoons as written by Lieutenant G. P. Kingsbury, the journalist of the expedition.

2. A map showing the route of the Dragoons in this expedition.

3. Letter from Colonel Dodge to Roger Jones, Adjutant General of the United States Army, dated October, 1835, from Fort Leavenworth.

4. Letter of Edmund P. Gaines (of the Western Department of the Army) to Roger Jones, Adjutant General of the United States Army, dated November 12, 1835.

¹⁷⁸ The present counties of Richardson, Nemaha, Johnson, and Otoe.

¹⁷⁹ "The Otto village", describes Lieutenant Kingsbury, "is situated on a high prairie ridge, about two miles from the river, and overlooks the surrounding country for many miles. In front lay the green level valley of the Platte. . . . The village was very neat in its appearance. The lodges were built of wood, thatched with prairie grass, and covered with dirt. They were of a circular form, with a pointed roof about ten or twelve feet high to the break of the roof, and about fifteen or twenty feet high in the centre. They build their fires in the middle of the lodge, leaving an opening in the roof for the smoke to escape."

¹⁸⁰ The route of this march would seem to correspond approximately with the present line of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad between the cities of Denver and Pueblo in the State of Colorado.

¹⁸¹ "The command at this stage of the march", writes Lieutenant Kingsbury on August 12, "was in a most perfect state of health — not a man upon the sick report; the horses in fine order, nearly as good as when they left Fort Leavenworth. The colonel had seen all the Indians he expected to see, and had established friendly relations with them all; had marched one thousand miles over a beautiful and interesting country, and we started for home with that joyous and self-satisfied feeling which resulted from a consciousness of having accomplished the full object of the expedition."

¹⁸² "The weather being wet and foggy," runs the journal of August 20, "we remained encamped; a party of men were sent out hunting, who killed two buffalo bulls; no buffalo cows were seen."

¹⁸³ This was a Dragoon of Company A who died on August 11, 1835. Colonel Dodge directed him to be buried on a high prairie ridge and a stone to be placed at the head of the grave upon which were to be engraved his name and regiment.

CHAPTER X

¹⁸⁴ This letter is printed in full in Smith's *History of Wisconsin*, Part II, Vol. I, pp. 431, 432.

¹⁸⁵ From a letter of December 7, 1835, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa, and

printed in the *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, pp. 293, 294.

¹⁸⁶ This commission is preserved in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁸⁷ Shambaugh's *The First Census of the Original Counties of Dubuque and Demoinc*, pp. 45, 82.

¹⁸⁸ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 50-52.

¹⁸⁹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 463-465.

¹⁹⁰ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 473.

¹⁹¹ Dodge's *Military Order Book*, pp. 115-117.

¹⁹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 34.

¹⁹³ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 474, 475.

¹⁹⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, p. 306.

¹⁹⁵ Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, pp. 721, 722.

¹⁹⁶ Catlin's *North American Indians*, Vol. II, p. 721.

¹⁹⁷ From Childs's *Recollections of Wisconsin Since 1820* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-195. Ebenezer Childs was one of the Representatives from Brown County, and his narrative illuminates some of the early legislative history of the Territory.

¹⁹⁸ *Du Buque Visitor*, Vol. I, No. 26, November 2, 1836.

¹⁹⁹ Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 3-11.

²⁰⁰ Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 491, 492; *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. VI, pp. 214-219.

²⁰¹ James G. Edwards in the *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. I, No. 14, October 12, 1837.

²⁰² *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Second Session of the First Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 167, 168.

²⁰³ *Journal of the Council*, Second Session of the First Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 6-10.

²⁰⁴ *Wisconsin Territorial Gazette and Burlington Advertiser*, Vol. I, No. 29, January 27, 1838.

²⁰⁵ Found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa, and printed in the *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, pp. 397, 398.

²⁰⁶ "I have known Genl. Jones from his childhood", wrote Dodge. "I have always considered him a high minded brave and honorable Gentleman . . . he has filled several important Territorial offices with great credit to himself before his Election as Delegate to congress and in that Capacity by his unre-mitted effort and industry to serve the people of the Territory he has gained their confidence in a great degree".— From a manuscript letter in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa, printed in the *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, p. 398.

²⁰⁷ From a letter in the Historical Department at

Des Moines, Iowa, printed in the *Annals of Iowa*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, pp. 398, 399.

CHAPTER XI

²⁰⁸ *Journal of the Council*, First Session of the Second Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 6-15.

²⁰⁹ Quoted from Ebenezer Childs's *Recollections of Wisconsin Since 1820* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 191.

²¹⁰ From the message of January 22, 1839, printed in the *Journal of the Council*, Second Session of the Second Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 8-10.

²¹¹ J. R. Poinsett to Governor Henry Dodge, February 14, 1839.—Printed in the *Appendix to the Journal of the Council* of the Second Session of the Second Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 339, 340.

²¹² From the regulations of March 23, 1839, by Secretary of War Poinsett for the payment of annuities and the execution of treaty stipulations.—Found in the *Papers of George Boyd* (Indian Agent at Green Bay), Vol. VI.

²¹³ Found in the *Madison Express*, Vol. I, No. 14, March 7, 1840.

²¹⁴ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 292-297.

The vote at this election resulted as follows: Doty, 2,125; Killbourn, 1,158; and Burnett, 861.

²¹⁵ *Journal of the Council*, Third Session of the Second Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 6-19.

²¹⁶ *Madison Express*, Vol. I, No. 2, December 7, 1839.

²¹⁷ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 346.

CHAPTER XII

²¹⁸ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 351, 352.

²¹⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 1, 2.

²²⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 106.

²²¹ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, pp. 754, 755.

²²² *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, Appendix, pp. 668, 669.

²²³ A clear and judicial account of this controversy written by a most competent hand is found in Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 386-398.

²²⁴ The debate on this resolution is to be found in the *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 27th Congress, p. 501, also in the Appendix to the same, pp. 277-281 and 354-356.

Representative Medill in concluding his speech said:—"The name of GENERAL DODGE is identified with the history and glory of the West, and will ever be held in grateful remembrance by a people whom his chivalry and valor have defended from cruelty and death. Selected for that purpose by President Jackson, he explored the vast regions of wilderness

on this side the Oregon, at the head of his invincible dragoons; visited and entered into treaties of amity with numerous tribes of Indians hitherto unknown: released the whites that were found in captivity, and restored peace, order, and quietude upon the whole line of the frontier. His extraordinary services and signal success drew from General Gaines, the commander of the division, a letter recommending him to the notice of Congress, and suggesting that a sword be presented him as a token of the national gratitude. Honored and esteemed by the people, though proscribed by the President, he was chosen by the citizens of Wisconsin to represent their interests upon this floor, where he has again had the pleasure of meeting one of those sons who fought by his side at Wisconsin Heights, and who has been honored with a similar trust from the Territory of Iowa. Such is an example of the 'reform' which is practised by this Administration."

²²⁵ From a letter to George W. Jones, dated June 14, 1842, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²²⁶ *Reports of Committees*, 2nd Session. 27th Congress, Vol. IV, Document 897.

²²⁷ Letter found in the *Moses M. Strong Collection of Letters* in the Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

²²⁸ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 398.

²²⁹ From a letter dated June 14, 1842, found in the Historical Department at Des Moines, Iowa.

²³⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 748.

²³¹ The full text of this speech is to be found in the *National Intelligencer* (Washington), Vol. XLV, No. 6438, March 28, 1844. Portions thereof are also printed in the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 28th Congress, p. 422; and in Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol XIV, No. 3, pp. 296-300.

²³² *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, p. 325.

CHAPTER XIII

²³³ "On the 13th of May, 1845, Hon. Henry Dodge was appointed Governor of the Territory in place of Nathaniel P. Tallmadge removed, being thus restored to the place from which in 1841, he had been removed by President Tyler to give place to James D. Doty." — Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, p. 479.

²³⁴ These two extracts are quoted from *The Diary of James K. Polk During his Presidency, 1845 to 1849*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife, Vol. I, pp. 56-59. In this diary the President usually speaks of himself in the third person.

²³⁵ *Mineral Point Democrat*, Vol. I, Nos. 5, 9, May 9 and June 6, 1845.

²³⁶ A list of the members of the Council and of the House of Representatives for this session is printed in Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 487, 488.

²³⁷ Printed in the *Journal of the Council*, Fourth Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 12-22.

²³⁸ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 490-508.

²³⁹ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 490, 491.

²⁴⁰ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 509-512, 526.

²⁴¹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, First Session of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 11-18.

²⁴² Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 255.

²⁴³ Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 532-550.

²⁴⁴ The history of this Constitution is taken principally from Strong's *History of Wisconsin Territory*, pp. 561-583.

²⁴⁵ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, Second Session of the Fifth Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin, pp. 12-18.

²⁴⁶ Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II, pp. 2047-2049.

²⁴⁷ On July 20, 1848, Henry Dodge wrote to John Catlin and quoted with approval a letter by Secretary of State James Buchanan who held that the laws of the Territory of Wisconsin remained in force in that part of the Northwest Territory from which Wisconsin had been detached. It was believed that Congress would not leave the people of this region (now a part of the State of Minnesota) outside the pale of laws and government.—Found in the *Catlin Papers* in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

²⁴⁸ A treatment of the administrations of the Territorial Governors of the Old Northwest is to be found in McCarty's *The Territorial Governors of the Old Northwest*, published by The State Historical Society of Iowa.

²⁴⁹ "The five noble commonwealths formed out of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, with their thirteen and a half millions of population; their material, intellectual, and moral resources; their vast wealth of achievements and still vaster wealth of possibilities, are the grandest testimonial to the Ordinance of 1787, to the men who framed it, and to the pioneers who laid their foundations."—Hinsdale's *The Old Northwest*, pp. 333, 334.

CHAPTER XIV

²⁵⁰ *Journal of the Senate*, First Legislature of Wisconsin, p. 21. The full vote stood: Walker, 61; Dodge, 60; Whiton, 17; Collins, 18; William S. Hamilton, 1; John H. Tweedy, 1.

²⁵¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, p. 870.

"FRIDAY, 23rd June, 1848.—I was in my office this morning. Many persons called. Among others Gen'l H. Dodge, one of the recently elected Senators in Congress from the State of Wisconsin, called."—From *The Diary of James K. Polk During his Presidency, 1845 to 1849*, edited by Milo Milton Quaife, Vol. III, p. 498.

²⁵² Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. II, p. 723.

²⁵³ Shepard's *Van Buren* (Standard Library Edition), p. 427.

²⁵⁴ Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 304.

²⁵⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 762, 763.

²⁵⁶ Senator James A. Pearce was appointed in Dodge's place on the committee which subpoenaed witnesses and collected evidence. On July 30th they made a report, accompanied by an appendix containing in 135 pages, the full record of the sittings of the committee. No action was recommended by the committee who, nevertheless, felt bound to say that "the whole scene was most discreditable to the Senate" and that the practice of carrying arms in the Senate chamber could not be too strongly condemned.—*Senate Reports*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. I, Doc. No. 170.

²⁵⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, p. 1002.

²⁵⁸ *Senate Journal*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 543, 557, 561, 583, 637.

²⁵⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 378, 379.

²⁶⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, p. 212.

²⁶¹ *Journal of the Assembly*, Third Annual Session of the Legislature of Wisconsin, pp. 97, 98.

²⁶² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, p. 532.

²⁶³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, Appendix, p. 805.

CHAPTER XV

²⁶⁴ Salter's *Henry Dodge in the Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 304.

²⁶⁵ Of the thirteen children born to Henry Dodge eight or nine grew to maturity. The fourth child, Henry Lafayette, who served with his father in the Black Hawk War, was burned at the stake in Arizona Territory in 1856 by the Apache Indians. Augustus Caesar, the fifth child, was a contemporary colleague of his father for six years in the United States Senate. Christiana Helen, the tenth child, became the wife of James Clarke, the last Governor of the Territory of Iowa.

²⁶⁶ Letter by J. S. Gallagher to Benj. B. Gallagher, dated August 31, 1832, at Fort Armstrong. Found in the *Gallagher Collection of Letters* in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

²⁶⁷ From a speech by Augustus Caesar Dodge on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—*Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 33rd Congress, Appendix, pp. 375-383.

²⁶⁸ From a letter to Captain Linn dated at Washington, January 26, 1833, reprinted from the *Vandalia Whig* in the *Illinois Advocate*, Vol. II, No. 27, March 2, 1833.

²⁶⁹ Section VII of the Organic Act of the Territory of Iowa.

²⁷⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 173-177.

²⁷¹ Dodge's *Tristram Dodge and Descendants*, pp. 166, 167.

²⁷² Salter's *Henry Dodge* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 308, 309.

²⁷³ *Acts*, xiii, 36.



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